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Writing against Walpole

By Donald Greene

BERTRAND A. GOLDBAR:
Walpole and the Wits
The Relation of Politics to Literature,
1722-1742
256pp. Lincoln: University of
Nebraska Press, £11.25.

For academics concerned with the age of Swift and Pope, the Victorian Watergate hullabaloo in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s had an air of déjà vu. The crowds of students chanting "Hey, hey, L.B.J., how many kids did you kill today?" the colleague whose briefcase displayed an enormous sticker reading "Impeach the [expletive deleted]" the caricatures by Levin, Horbuck, and Conrad (with letterpress to match) depicting a skulking, black-jowled Nixon ("Would you buy a used car from this man?") inevitably reminded us of the crusade of British intellectuals of the 1730s and 40s against the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, culminating in his resignation and narrow escape from impeachment in 1742.

The "only late Swift and Pope" helped to enlighten our classes. There was Swift frothing over Walpole: "Who bore for twice ten years the public hate."

In every mouth the question most in vogue was, "When will they turn out this odious rogue?"

A bloated Minister in all his gear, With shameless visage, and par-fidulous leer, Two rows of teeth arm each devouring jaw, And, ostrich-like, his all-digesting maw...

There was Johnson approvingly quoting Henry Brooke on Walpole and George II:

Base fear, the laziness of lust, gross appetites, the grovelling footstool from whence the tyrant rises— He has debauched the genius of our country.

And rides triumphant, while her captive sons Await his nod, the slithering slaves of pleasure, and Johnson himself on the king: His tortured sons shall die before his face.

While he lies melting in a lewd embrace, The one "tortured son" being Captain Jenkins of the famous ear, and the "lewd embrace" that of George's Hanoverian mistress, Anna von Walmoden. There was Pope mocking the painful death of Walpole's supporter Queen Caroline:

Here lies, wrapt up in forty thousand towels, The only proof that Caroline had bowels

and picturing in the *Dunciad* a final liquidation of all British morality, art, and intellect. It is hard to say in which period the quantity and virulence of abuse were greater. The quality of the cartooning of the Johnson-Nixon era was perhaps higher: in the earlier period Hogarth remained aloof, and the favourite subject of the rest, Walpole's enormous naked rear, afforded little occasion for subtlety of wit. In literature, on the other hand, the sophisticated Mac Bird presents no threat to the reputations of Pope and Swift.

Walpole was succeeded by a succession of easily distinguishable from his and the uproar suddenly ceased. Later Samuel Johnson affirmed: "He was the best of us, and this country ever had; and if we would have let him be perpetual peace, Bovey, looking back, declared, 'There was in truth no oppression; the nation was not cheated.' And as Bertrand A. Goldgar notes in *Walpole and the Wits*, to "many historians" Walpole's regime appeared "in retrospect... just and effective." Could these be signs for the future?

In the light of such reconsideration, it is strange how knowledge modern students of the period among others, the late Louis Breuold and Earl Wasserman—accepted

the teaching of Pope and the others that Walpole was a uniquely degrading force in British history. Even Maynard Mack, in *The Garden and the City*, seems reluctant to abandon it:

[Pope's] intense and repeated references to nation in decay had no historical foundation—so Johnson assures us, looking back about forty years later from an historian's stance, and therefore forgetting that the England of Pope's satires... is not wholly to be substandard. The "black mail" keeps coming to mind. Gay and his friends were indignant when he was offered only the security of gentleman-usher to an infant princess—"One of the cruelest actions I ever knew," wrote Swift—and no doubt, though *The Beggar's Opera* was "well under way," the satire may have been sharpened in the following months. James Thomson had made a bid for ministerial Newton to Walpole. When his hostile *Britannia* appeared three years later, it was reported that Walpole had given him £50 for the dedication and he was reproached for ingratitude. If such a payment was in fact made, Goldgar comments, "the present was evidently insufficient to win the poet's support for the ministry."

Between the publication of his scathing attack on Walpole in *The Drapier's Letters*, Swift was not above calling on Walpole, even dining with him with some request or other, perhaps for a bishopric. Who would guess from Pope's fulminations against Walpole and George II for stifling the arts that he had received £200—a magnificent grant when translated into modern terms—no further his version of the *Odyssey*?

"Fielding's relations with the Great Man," Goldgar writes, "provide a convoluted record of a writer cautiously seeking his advantage, but also a record of a writer who was not above calling on Walpole, even dining with him with some request or other, perhaps for a bishopric."

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writers who opposed Walpole bound together by a common ideology?—is an emphatic "no." Their opposition [was] a more complex and multifaceted phenomenon, woven of rather different individual strands of private interest and personal associations."

"At some time or other," Goldgar continues, "most of these men of letters sought some accommodation with the administration"—and the "accommodation" was expected to be substantial. The "black mail" keeps coming to mind. Gay and his friends were indignant when he was offered only the security of gentleman-usher to an infant princess—"One of the cruelest actions I ever knew," wrote Swift—and no doubt, though *The Beggar's Opera* was "well under way," the satire may have been sharpened in the following months. James Thomson had made a bid for ministerial Newton to Walpole. When his hostile *Britannia* appeared three years later, it was reported that Walpole had given him £50 for the dedication and he was reproached for ingratitude. If such a payment was in fact made, Goldgar comments, "the present was evidently insufficient to win the poet's support for the ministry."

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The gap on the left

By T. B. Bottomore

WERNER SOMBART:

Why is there no Socialism in the United States

Edited by C. T. Husbands

Translated by Patricia M. Hocking and C. T. Husbands

187pp. Macmillan. £10.

The publication in 1906 of Werner Sombart's book on the absence of socialism in the United States occurred in a period when there was in fact a vigorous development of the American socialist movement. Trade union membership grew rapidly, the IWW was formed in 1905, and socialist and radical were active in the AFL; the American Socialist Party was increasing its membership, socialists held a large number of municipal offices, and in the presidential election of 1912 the Socialist candidate, Eugene Debs, received a substantial vote. This was also a time of more intense social criticism, by historians and sociologists influenced by Marxism, and by the "muckraking" journalists. Charles Beard, writing in 1914 of the period since the turn of the century, had observed that "deep class feelings had found expression at the conventions of both parties, and 'forced upon the attention of the country a conflict between great wealth and the lower middle and working classes, which had hitherto been recognized only in obscure circles'".

It was perhaps these movements of thought and action which led Sombart to conclude his book with a remark that he entirely at odds with his preceding analysis, to the effect that:

all the factors that till now have prevented the development of Socialism in the United States are about to disappear or be converted into their opposite, with the result that in the next generation Socialism in America will very probably experience the greatest possible expansion of its appeal.

Sombart did not return to his promised study of American political and social life which was to demonstrate the truth of this assertion, and shortly afterwards the American socialist movement began a decline from which it has never recovered.

The beginning of this decline has been set by historians at various times between 1912 and 1921, and diverse reasons have been suggested for it. Sombart's study—and this is the great value of his book—worked against American socialism from the outset; and it is rather surprising that his work, frequently referred to in discussions of American "exceptionalism", has had to wait so long before appearing in a complete English translation. This is itself, perhaps, an indication of the decline of American socialism—the subject simply did not arouse enough interest until after the "revival" of socialism in the 1960s.

Sombart's discussion of the question, despite its brevity, is very comprehensive and contrives to mention almost all the major factors that have been adduced by most students of the subject to account for the absence of a significant socialist movement in the United States, in striking contrast with Europe. Indeed, the fundamental theme of his analysis is that political, economic and social conditions in America were so unfavourable to the development of socialism. The high incomes of workers (twice as high as in Germany according to Sombart) were very important, and this part of his argument has been summed up in the comment that "all Socialist utopias came to nothing on roast beef and apple pie". We might add that the sustained high rate of economic growth (which Sombart did not examine), and hence a steady increase in living standards, was equally significant. But these economic conditions alone might not have attracted American workers so firmly to capitalism if there had not been a political system which allowed extensive participation, and thus encouraged integration, and a state of affairs which comprised both what Sombart calls a "democratic style of life" and considerable opportunities for social mobility, especially by the settlement of free land.

There were, of course other factors upon which Sombart does not dwell in any detail; among them, large immigration, and the division of labour created in the working and other circumstances such as size and diversity of the country, and on the other side the growth of American nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century, which acted to restrain the development of a distinctive working class consciousness. And some of Sombart's arguments have been rejected, to later criticism; for example, that concerning the importance of the frontier and the existence of free land. Nevertheless, his study does establish a coherent and plausible account of the American situation that have confronted socialists, and attempting to explain some important historical events, it has a bearing upon recent events not only in the United States, but in the rest of the world.

In the first place, it may be said, how far the factors that Sombart distinguished are still important in limiting the growth of American socialism; and this was an issue discussed by the New Left movements of the 1960s. More important is another question concerning the development of socialism in the European countries: to what extent have poverty, social mobility, and the democratic socialist parties induced a situation resembling that which existed in the United States at an earlier date, and thus substantially diminished the difference between America and Europe.

The marginal and the outraged

By Kenneth Minogue

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ:

Ideology and Utopia in the United States 1956-1976

464pp. New York: Oxford University Press. £10.95.

"In my opinion," writes Irving Louis Horowitz in one of the essays in *Ideology and Utopia in the United States*, "we must combine the best of critical social science and investigative reporting to express a sense of the system as well as a sense of outrage." Professor Horowitz's thought may be described as an oscillation between these two poles. Whether such an oscillation is desirable or not is highly arguable. Are the enormous complexities of modern life seriously to be taken as parts of a system? Every attempt to do so soon discovers breakdowns and anomalies at every point. And is outrage the proper business of academic inquiry? It is indeed right that we should sometimes be outraged; but it rarely helps us to understand anything better.

And these essays written over twenty years certainly testify to the widest of interests and an almost morbid sensitivity to the zeitgeist. In 1968, for example, Professor Horowitz was discovering that the distinction between social deviance and political marginality was breaking down. A new amalgam was taking place which linked Hell's Angels, drug addicts, blacks and others in a general protest against "the system," with the result that one could no longer classify crime and other forms of "deviance" as non-political.

The point about this Marcusean message is that it is less an analysis of the situation in 1968 than a statement of what many of the newly turbulent groups were themselves announcing as the justification of what they did. They declared themselves a new style of politics, and social diagnosticians like Professor Horowitz were quick to repeat their claims and to give them some academic legitimacy. He is himself a practised hound in sniffing out the values supposedly concealed in the acts of university teachers, but does not seem to notice the evaluative connections linking his own thought with that of the deviants and marginals he describes. Presumably this is the "sense of outrage" getting the better of "sense of system."

The people labelled "social deviants" (such as criminals) and those labelled "politically marginal" seem to have little in common except that they do not belong to a grand defining entity called "the system," which amounts to the rest of us, constituted as it were by much more rigid and single-minded than we are. It requires ingenuity to link together people who only have

in common the fact that they are a minority. How is it done? "The decision to treat deviance as a social problem is itself a political decision," writes Professor Horowitz in a highly characteristic aperçu. This sounds like deep stuff until one asks: who is making what decision on "deviance"?

Thieves and murderers have long been regarded as highly tiresome people, and they have generally been executed or incarcerated. Homosexuals have been legally treated as deviants on the basis of a Christian morality which is now no longer so universally held. Psychotics are often these days treated

are taken as "the superordinate parties" who control deviants as their "subordinates." Their view of the world is called "the consensus welfare model" by Professor Horowitz, who thinks that in pretending to help they are actually masking the reality of control. He, by contrast, espouses a "conflict model" in which deviance is treated merely as a disagreement on values between "society" and "the deviant."

It is hard not to detect muddle in this supposed unmasking of repression. The policeman-criminal relationship, for example, has nothing at all to do with super-

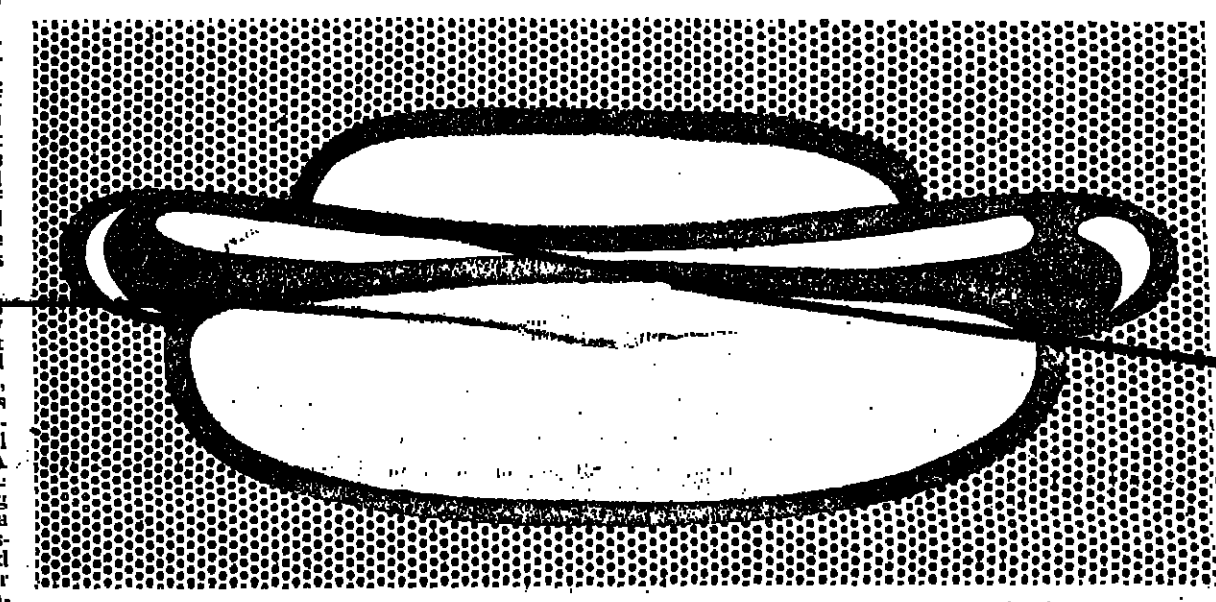
Similar considerations arise when Professor Horowitz talks of political marginality. He persistently talks of people like blacks as being "disfranchised" when what he actually means is that they do not have what they regard as adequate influence in political decisions. Such crudities of expression are necessary if his argument is to generate a single class of outsiders from the already homogenized groups he is discussing. The point of his argument is, of course, to analyse what he thinks is actually going on. But it has a wider significance which he does not discuss. Exerting political influ-

about the unequal distribution of social goods is one that requires a great deal of verbal obfuscation if it is to be swallowed whole. Professor Horowitz is fully equal to the task. The enormous complexity of such an occurrence as the Watts riots of August 1965 is slotted into the argument as "the large-scale denial by blacks of the traditional role of the police as keepers of social order." The word "traditional" in this sort of rhetoric signals something which ought to be superseded, but it can hardly be keeping the social order" since the police are concerned with the much more precise business of enforcing a set of laws. Professor Horowitz, writing in 1968, sees a great future for the alliance of social deviants and political dissenters joining in guerrilla warfare against society. The actual triumph of these endeavours, it will be remembered, was to elect Richard Nixon twice to the Presidency.

Professor Horowitz is in general a better guide to our times when he deals with actual events than when he embarks on theorizing or on history. He has a lot to tell us about multinational corporations and their effect on East-West relations, but he cannot resist the temptation to grab our attention by claiming too much: "The emergence of the multinational corporation is the paramount economic fact of the present epoch and helps to explain current trends in the political sociology of world relations." He has many sensible things to say about the involvement of policemen in Project Camelot, an example of relations between social scientists and the military. The historical analogy he draws between the United States in the 1960s and France in the 1890s is suggestive.

But when it comes to theorizing, the ground always shakes beneath his feet. This is clear, for example, in his treatment of past thinkers. Hobbes's Leviathan, he writes, "is the totalitarian state." Aristotle is said to believe that "one moves inexorably from the political to the moral realm." To Hegel is attributed the view that government invents "organized terror" and "systematic espionage." At times these wild flights verge on the factually incorrect, as when St Augustine appears to be placed in the twelfth century, and the twentieth-century British novelist J. B. Priestley (standing in for the chemist Joseph Priestley) turns up, along with John F. Kennedy, as an example of a form of political dissent, thus intertwining social deviance and political rights. Professor Horowitz writes: "While the right to dissent politically is guaranteed (within certain limits) the right to dissent socially is almost totally denied those without high social status."

What we have, then, is one of the familiar themes of radical sociology: a polemic reworking of the theme that "it's the rich who gets the pleasure, it's the poor who gets the blame." The idea that maintaining is a form of dissent, or that your friendly neighbourhood pickpocket is making a statement



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sible, for instance, to see that two brief reports of some remarks of Sir Edward Coke on March 21, 1628, relate to the same speech, and this is because each diarist picked out "a different set of memorable words from the great man's mouth to recall. Yet it is safe simply to add A to B and suppose that we then have a better record? Stowe MS 366, a compilation of the editors' treatise with respect, makes a complete hash of the stinging of March 19 by conflating the Speaker's address and the Lord Keeper's reply, an elementary absurdity. In this case other evidence unravels the confusion, but what happens when a diary offers the only evidence for a supposed event?

"Proceedings and Debates" provides a continuous and glossy account that doubts that it would be very unsafe to treat it as complete or even to suppose that what it professes was spoken ever got said in the House at all. The many separates of speeches which owe their existence and circulation to their authors and which sometimes get incorporated in these compilations must certainly have included much *esprit d'escalier*. If "Proceedings and Debates" were a book, they would acquire a great measure of authenticity, but as things stand it would be unwise to assume that a speech never delivered or in a separate time, of course, *parlants* did miss things too, so

that omission from the diaries is no conclusive proof that no such oration was made. Above all, however, it is not permissible to suppose that a conflation of all the information here provided will give the fullest, unedited account of the session. Users of these volumes will need to do a great deal of critical work on the sources, but at least the edition has done as much as any edition can do to give them their chance.

A second question touches the amount of new knowledge made available by CD 1628—new because, as has been said, Frances Relf, who saw most of it, made no little use of it. This Parliament, which debated and passed the Petition of Right, did much of its work in committees, in the Lords, and in conferences between the Houses. Of necessity, dependence on evidence provided by members and officers of the Commons limits the vision. Only the Grosvenor Diary seems to have been kept by a burgess who sat regularly in committees, and for joint conferences we too often get only the official report, as a rule condensed, with the editors occasionally abandoning self-imposed limitations by inserting accounts compiled from other than their usual sources, as for important conferences six columns of *Parliamentary History* (17) and debating the contents of the Old Parliamentary History. The matter gets good coverage in CD 1628 too, but in a

form as artificially constructed as Cabbett's was. No doubt the difficulties of the materials here defended are the methods, but one explanation of the text provided than is found in the somewhat reticent footnotes.

Reports of conferences are often fuller in the Lords House, and since moreover that story it is a pity that the edition will not print those Journals too. For 1628 they occupy 193 two-column pages in the eighteenth-century edition; by omitting proceedings lists and the formalities at the opening of the parliament, the editors could have accommodated this material in about forty-five of their own pages—not a terrifyingly large, if it too late for this still to be done? Gratitude for gifts received would be further augmented.

Still, no one will deny that CD 1628 enormously enlarges and improves the information available in print and by the excellence of its editing makes it readily available for critical evaluation. Hitherto printed information was confined to the House of Commons, and the *Parliamentary History* (PH) which itself in the main derived from Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, though it may be emphasized that Cabbett's predecessors (helped by John Nelson's violent denunciations of Rushworth's bias and deviousness) could be very critical of

their mentor. (Their criticisms are collected in the delightful footnotes to the account of Rushworth in the fifth volume of the 1760 *Biographia Britannica*.) That we can know much better and much more now may be illustrated from two examples, the more so because my ability to demonstrate those facts exemplifies the convenient ease of use which the current arrangement of this edition together with the order-of-business device has provided.

On April 28, according to the Commons Journal, Mr Secretary Coke reported a speech delivered by the Lord Keeper (Sir Thomas Coventry) in the presence of a Commons' deputation, and gave the clerk a copy to be entered. This was not done: the next page is blank. The House then appointed a select committee of lawyers and others to frame a bill for the regulation of the liberties of the subject. From PH we learn that the king had summoned the Commons to the Upper House for a message which, he said, the Lord Keeper would deliver better than he himself could (since this detail comes from the Lords Journals it is absent from CD 1628). Vouching Rushworth, PH gives Coke's speech and what is called Rushworth's reply. Further notes that the drafting of the bill took two days. "Of the speeches in this Debate," it goes on, "we meet with only the two" of Hakewill and Mason, which are then printed: they come not from Rushworth but from the 1654 *Parliamentary History*, a compilation of dubious authority. CD 1628, on the other hand, shows what really happened. After the meeting in the Lords, the Commons returned to their own House where Sir John Coke opened the debate with a speech enlarging upon Coventry's oration. He started either by craving leave to paraphrase the Lord Keeper's words or by denying any intention to paraphrase them, a confusion which suffices here to show that we shall always remain in doubt even over the best-attempted speeches. There followed an immediate debate in which at least five people spoke (with Rushworth leading off) before the Commons went to select a committee, to meet that afternoon at the Inner Temple: a large overlap in membership with the committee for religion meant that a meeting of that committee, arranged for the same afternoon, was cancelled.

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In the way of Napoleon

By Christopher Lloyd

C. NORTHCOOTE PARKINSON:
Britannia Rules
The Classic Age of Naval History
1793-1815
199pp., Weldenfeld and Nicolson.
£5.95.

It is a pleasure to welcome C. Northcoote Parkinson back into the ranks of naval historians after his forays into other fields. He made his reputation many years ago with his standard biography of Lord Exmouth and his book *War in the Eastern Seas 1793-1815*, so he is well at home in the period covered by *Britannia Rules*. According to him, "we know all too little about the period we regard as our greatest: is it not time something were done?" But the age of Nelson is, surely, a very well-filled field, although it is true that no historian of the first rank has ever told the story of the maritime war. G. J. Marcus has provided a useful account because the economic aspects of the war and indeed the strategy of blockade in general is here omitted. What we have is an introductory survey of the principal events, clearly described and enlivened with apt quotations. Unfortunately there are a number of misprints of proper names.

As the biographer of Lord Exmouth the author notes that his hero's career spans the war, his capture of a French frigate (virtually opening it) and his bombardment of Algiers in 1816 ending it with the hardest fought

action of the whole period, not excepting Camperdown. Through out, the book is admirably full of operations of secondary importance into the scale of more famous battles. Thus the actions of Saumarez at Algiers (sic), of Popham in the River Risle, or Gambetta in the Aix Roads are all given due space and the post-Napoleonic period is fully covered, though with little regard to the extent of the blockade.

Refering to Sir Sydney Smith at Acre, Napoleon at the end of his life made the appropriate remark that "whatever there is water, there is a ship, and we are sure to find you English in our way." The ubiquity of the British effort in all parts of the world during a war which lasted nearly twenty years is indeed what impresses us today. But the other impressive thing, Professor Parkinson brings into well-deserved prominence, is the high quality of leadership, especially important in the age of the press gang. One secret, he observes, is to ensure that the leader, who cannot be everywhere, will be talked about when he is not actually there. He has to be a colourful figure, one about whom stories are told. Such stories have been told for over a century.

What really happened was much more complex. The Lords' request for a conference having been received, four reporters were appointed, but when they returned and Coke reported the Lords' proposed amendment, the Commons, after prolonged discussion in committee of the whole, informed the Upper House that so weighty a matter could not be settled on that day. They continued debating the addition from May 19 to 22, with several more direct exchanges between the Houses, before turning the Lords' proposal down. For the arguments on May 17 seventeen speeches are preserved, including one by Pym and one by Selden which were not given in PH. In fact, of the speakers recorded in PH and there placed under May 17, Alford, Pym, Hakewill (who chaired the new committee) and Coke spoke on May 20, Nay and Wentworth on May 22; but of that powerful speech by Selden there is no trace at all in CD 1628.

This, of course, is a much compressed version of what emerges from the new material, though even so it shows how much better the story of this important parliament can now be told. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that CD 1628 contains a plain and accurate—let alone a full and objective—account of what went on in that session. The materials remain very tricky and difficult. The real work of reconstructing events must now begin, and it must start with a vote of thanks to those who have made it possible. It is only owing to the enormous assiduity and notable pertinacity in the task displayed by these heroes of the backroom that the true story of the record has become possible.

By descent and divergence

By C. D. Darlington

ERNST MAYR:
Evolution and the Diversity of Life
Selected Essays
721pp. Harvard University Press:
Belknap Press. £13.65.

The work of Ernst Mayr collected in this great volume of essays focuses me with an interesting paradox. His training, his methods of observation and inference, and the aims which inspire his inquiries are sharply contrasted with my own. Yet on the great issues of evolution which have occupied us both we nevertheless agree.

We agree on the Darwinian principle that all life is derived by descent and divergence from common ancestors. And further that this descent and this divergence are based on common rules of heredity, variation, and natural selection. These processes work in detail. And these details are important, for on them our future understanding of life, and notably of human life, is likely to depend.

First we must notice that these essays reflect the success of the German educational system of fifty years ago in combining European science and scholarship more effectively than they had ever been combined before. *Evolution and the Diversity of Life* also reflects Dr Mayr's innate abilities for systematic observation, which reach their climax in his studies of the behaviour of birds. For it was these gifts, he claims, which gave him his great opportunities on expeditions to New Guinea and laid the foundations of his career at the American Museum of Natural History.

The problems of classification which are bound to attend the forefront of Mayr's studies are not of wide public interest in practice or theory. But behind them lies his understanding of communities of animals cooperating, competing and evolving in a more complicated way than had ever before been recognized. In the animal field he was able to bring Darwin right into the twentieth century.

When Dr Mayr describes the contrast between instinctive and learnt behaviour as one between a closed and an open genetic programme, this is much more than a verbal device. It clarifies the whole evolution of intelligence. It puts on its proper genetic basis the principle of directed change by selection in the vertebrates by which, as Shapton argued long ago, the brain has been enlarged and reason has slowly and partially superseded instinct. Mayr does not follow the clue any further. But we can see that this evolution has allowed the animal more and more to choose and to create its own environment, those external conditions to which, above all, man has been compelled to adapt himself by developing his intelligence.

Dr Mayr does not concern himself with such problems of directional change and feedback process.

But he has devoted very careful thought to their original investigator, Lamarck, and to his influence down to the present day. The unfortunate connection of the idea of the inheritance of acquired characters with Marxist theory and Stalinist practice (including Lysenko) is well known. But I wonder whether Dr Mayr realizes how deeply Western historical, educational and sociological writing and political action are governed today by Lamarckian mythology. The late Arnold Toynbee took his ideas of heredity and race from French anthropologists, who like later social scientists everywhere had taken Lamarck as the authentic prophet of evolution.

It would not be surprising if Dr Mayr with the broad scope of his interests gave the impression of having rounded off the whole evolutionary inquiry. There are gaps in his story, however, and they are more serious than he seems to recognize. In effect he leaves out plants. He leaves out much of the worst of all he leaves out the chromosomes, the little things at

the centre of the business. Now organisms give Mayr, as they gave Darwin, one picture of evolution, the obvious one. But the chromosomes underneath give us a more complicated picture which is not at all obvious. And it is a very different picture of the origin of species.

At the beginning of this century Hugo de Vries, the Dutch botanist, suggested that the splitting or isolation by which species arose could come about in several ways: not only from the external or geographical causes understood by Darwin, but by internal or genetic causes. These causes are now recognized. In animals as well as in plants they lie in the chromosomes. The internal and external causes of species formation usually, no doubt, work together to strengthen one another after the first split. Broadly speaking the internal causes are what de Vries called "mutations". But they are what we, taught by the chromosomes, know to be due to a variety of changes and breaks, interchanges and rearrangements under the microscope and in the

laboratory. These processes work in detail. And these details are important, for on them our future understanding of life, and notably of human life, is likely to depend.

By Vernon Reynolds

WERNER STARK:
The Social Bond
An Investigation into the Bases of Law-abidingness
Volume 1
229pp. New York: Fordham University Press. £7.50.

Inwardly and outwardly composed, the cat and I sit by the open window gazing into the garden. What do I see, and what does the cat see? I see flowers, which I find delightful, and weeds which I call for action. What the cat sees I do not know. Perhaps he sees a back garden into which a neighbour (cat) might step, or on which a sparrow might land. On my desk is Volume 1 of *The Social Bond: an investigation into the bases of law-abidingness* by Werner Stark. The prologue was written in New York, or so it says. What does Professor Stark see out of his window? He announces in his preface that this is the first of six volumes:

I have taken up a very great subject, and only a substantial treatise can hope to do it justice. . . . The first [volume] deals with the relationship of man's bodily equipment to man's social mode of life. It is socially prefigured and performed in our physical inheritance. . . . Has law-abidingness a basis in nature? Is the complex of our somatic drives a help or a hindrance to social integration? And, perhaps to save the lazy reader or reviewer the trouble of reading the ensuing 224 pages, he answers immediately: "What answers from our discussion is the conviction that the social order is an achievement of man, or rather of men collectively, and that it rests on the reduction and the control of animal propensities, not on their free unfolding."

So what is the difference between me and my cat? When he sees the other cat his gaze becomes fixed, he stares, and then, advancing menacingly through the window, he affirms his ownership of the garden by threat. The neighbour beats a retreat. When he sees a sparrow he hides behind shrubs and advances cautiously holding himself low. But I have my instincts in check. Owing to my socialization, I feel no aggression to my next-door neighbour (the cat's owner) when he calls round. I even find pleasure to see him, greet him with a smile, show him my flower-beds with pride, offer him a cup of coffee and talk to him for a while. Evidently my socialization has been very effective, and my inner or innate tendencies have been not just held in check but turned inside out.

But if I lived in New York, what then? Perhaps I might not know my neighbour? His presence on my home ground might be cause for alarm or hostility. I might be quite at ease with him. If I was, would this mean my socialization had fed me a different set of appropriate responses, a set appropriate to New York rather than rural England? And would it be the case that whereas in my Oxfordshire flower garden my natural hostility was severely curbed by social norms, in the Bronx it was legitimated?

For Professor Stark the answer has to be "yes". His book is searching in its analysis, well worth the effort of reading, excellently argued and somewhat repetitive. I have enjoyed reading it. It does a splendid job of rejecting the arguments of those who would have us believe in the innate basis of social law and order. He is as convinced as I am that the bases of human society, its moral edicts, its social prescriptions, its taboos, its implicit and explicit values are constructs of the human mind, not products of natural selection. But his reasons for so thinking are as wrong as his conclusions are right.

There is no convincing evidence that man is by nature selfish and aggressive, that left unchecked he would resort to conflict. If desocialized people fight each other over scarce resources there is no way of proving they do not do so out of wholly rational considerations. Stark's "wolf children" are studies in pathology. Stark could in fact reach his conclusions without his basic assumption that man is by nature individualistic and competitive. He does not need to assume that man is by nature selfish and aggressive, that left unchecked he would resort to conflict. If desocialized people fight each other over scarce resources there is no way of proving they do not do so out of wholly rational considerations. Stark's "wolf children" are studies in pathology. Stark could in fact reach his conclusions without his basic assumption that man is by nature individualistic and competitive. 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To the Editor

George Orwell

Sir—E. H. Carr writes (Letters, June 17) that "Bernard Crick has not done his homework. The influence of Zamyatin's *We* on Orwell... is not an 'absurd and polemical accusation' (why 'accusation'?)... but is perfectly well attested." Indeed I said that William Steinbock's *George Orwell and the Origins of 1984* should make the friends of Zamyatin blush a little, but I did not imagine that it would make them too cross either to read carefully or to shoot straight.

Deutscher's words as I quoted them go far beyond well-attested influence: "Orwell borrowed the idea... the plot, the chief characters, the symbols and the whole climate of his story from Zamyatin." Deutscher in his essay accused Orwell not merely of writing *1984* and *Animal Farm* but of "punching all his friends of Deutscher bluish a little, but I did not imagine that it would make them too cross either to read carefully or to shoot straight."

I labour this point because it is part of legend that Orwell deserted socialism. It is a polemic accusation because Deutscher tries to belittle Orwell's imagination as well as accusing him of writing Cold War propaganda. In fact, Orwell was influenced by the old Tribune Left, an extraordinary conflation of Communism and Nazism, satirizing James Burnham; and it was never a prediction, only a warning. Deutscher's approach to Orwell is far too literal-minded and narrow and takes warning for prophecy. Oddly, did they not both believe that the revolution had been betrayed by the Communist Party?

Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1.

Bohumil Hrabal

Sir—R. B. Pynsent's comment on my review of Bohumil Hrabal's books (Letters, June 17) contains so many inaccuracies in a single paragraph that it cannot be left unanswered.

I would not have expected anyone to be able to confuse the two distinctly separate references that I mentioned: two unrelated books by Hrabal, of which the entire editions were destroyed in the post-invasion purge of Czech culture, the other was a reference to three unpublished manuscripts by this author circulating in Czechoslovakia at present. However, as it did not seem to be clear to Dr Pynsent that writing of one thing I did not actually mean the other, I shall have to specify: the former, *Průběh*, related to *Pouště* and *Domácí úkol*, printed in editions of 25,000 and 20,000 copies respectively, but never reprinted and destroyed with hundreds of other books at the time. Only a few copies seem to have survived this barbarity of which I can supply further bibliographical data. As for the latter, I had in mind exactly what I wrote: three unpublished manuscripts by Hrabal, circulated in the typewritten *Edice Petlice* (Petlice Editions) and mentioned for instance by one of the spirits behind this anti-censorship venture, Ludvík Vaculík (Swedish, 53, 1977, page 48). *Průběh* (given an incorrect title) is one of the three; to the best of my knowledge it has been released in the West as a manuscript only: an extract appeared in German translation in *Kontinent* (Sonderausgabe) which the other two manuscripts are *Matka* and *Krátká povíčka* and *Nějaký barba*.

Glass Slippers

Sir—For the information of Stella Mary Newton (Letters, June 10), that Cinderella's slipper is made of glass is due entirely to the genius of Charles and Pierre Perrault, in whose version the tale is best known today. In their story *Cendrillon*, ou la petite pantoufle de verre" (1697), the slipper is indisputably of glass, so no translator is likely to alter it to the soft of the version heard originally by Perrault. In other written versions the material varies, from gold in the nineteenth-century Chinese version to satin in a Scottish version collected by Andrew Lang, and the slipper can even be a finger ring. Perrault deliberately chose to make the slipper a glass one because the story is much more effective with a shoe that cannot be stretched and can be seen to fit. (In other versions the sisters sliced off their heels and toes to get it on.) As to the "specific kind of involvement," simple recourse to a dictionary would reveal that *verre* is a variegated fur from a squirrel, much used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for trimming garments, that it can be used to make an elegant shoe fit for a princess should therefore cause no surprise, and to imagine the slipper as clumsy moccasins is spoiling her point by exaggeration. I myself wear shoes that I consider most elegant which are made from the skin of a cow. It is called leather.

Burlington House, 13 Powis Square, Brighton, Sussex.

Sir—It is manifestly improbable that Cinderella could have worn glass slippers. The evidence Stella Mary Newton wants (Letters, June 10) is lexicographical rather than of the PRO, E179/144/7 variety, for French *bazon* still uses *verre* where English heralds write *glass*. In George I. Baker's *Early Bazon* (Oxford, 1972) there are collected the versions of *verre*, *verrey*, *verrey*, *verrey* and so on, and their

meanings, as found in the earliest heraldic descriptions. He shows that the word is derived from Latin *vitrus* and confirms the heraldry books' explanation that the patchwork of blue and white bell shapes which is the usual conventionalized form of *verre* represents skins taken from the bellies of squirrels and sewn together to form a lining. So Cinderella could have worn fur booties. Alternatively the slipper in early *bazon* could mean "variegated," so she could have been fitted out with multi-coloured dancing shoes.

Modern glass technology would be over-stretched to produce footwear sufficiently flexible and resistant to be safe for even the staidest pavane. The substance would be crumpled. Cinderella's chances are other directions, too, for it must be noted that the tale is a moral as Cinderella was flighty and lost all sense of time once she was at the ball. This her fairy godmother had tried to counter by (1) ensuring the slipper would fit snugly and sensibly and (2) trying to ensure that Cinderella was on her way home by midnight. The godmother assured that by having to search for a girl with uniquely shaped feet (for the shoe would fit no other) she would have to commit herself to a declaration of affection in the cold light of day. But if she had worn glass slippers—i.e. if she had worn drinking umbrellas or *verres*—Cinderella might well have had him drinking champagne from then that night. This the godmother had sensibly foreseen: the fur footwear, otherwise the story might have ended as sadly as did the adventures of too high society of so many other poor but honest maidens.

WILLIAM PETCHLEY,
School House, The Grammar School, Ripon, North Yorkshire HG4 2DG.

Sir—Phyllis Groesbeck's statement (June 10), apropos of Edward Carpenter's home at Millthorpe, that "Mr. Forster has described this free-wheeling household in *Maude's*" needs correction. No such household as Carpenter's is described or even mentioned in *Maude*, which was inspired by a visit to Millthorpe "only in the sense that (in the words of Forster's *Maude*) 'Note' Carpenter and his comrade George Merrill combined to touch a creative spring. George Merrill also touched my backside."

OLIVER STALLYBRASS,
King's College, Cambridge.

Sir—Having twice enjoyed the hospitality of the worthy citizens of Lemgo-in-Lippe as an exchange pupil at the Engelbert Kämpfer Schule, may I correct the description of him as a "Dutch" physician ("East of Liliput," TLS Comment, May 27). Kämpfer was a native of Lemgo and returned to the district after his travels.

RICHARD STOREY,
86 Windy Arbour, Kenilworth, Warwickshire.

The author of the review of Emilio Cecchi's *Taccuini* on June 10 was Ugo Varni not, as printed, Ugo Varni.

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Information
please

Hermann Baron de Czettritz and Sir Edmund Temple: whereabouts of any letters related to their stay in South America 1825 to 1827.

Enrique Tandeter, Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HA.

Richard Lassels (alias Bolds) (1603-1688), author of *The Voyage of Italy*: whereabouts of any information especially about manuscripts cited in the Dictionary of National Biography and Gilman.

E. P. de G. Chancy, Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London WC1R 0AB.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-99): experimental physicist and Enlightenment writer: whereabouts of any published or unpublished letters to or from him.

Abrecht Schöne, Edition Lichtenberg-Briefwechsel, Prinzessstrasse 1, D-3400 Gütersloh.

Frans List: whereabouts of any family photographs, caricatures or paintings, for a biography.

Derek Parker, Seherals, Foxton, Near Rye, East Sussex.

Federico Garcia Lorca (1898-1936): whereabouts of any articles, books, translations and adaptations which are partly or wholly concerned with or based on his work for a definitive bibliography.

J. A. Chapman, Department of Spanish, Westfield College, London NW3 7ST.

Toussaint Louverture: whereabouts of any unpublished letters or manuscripts for a biography.

Joseph A. Boron, 560 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027, USA.

George Moore: whereabouts of any letters in private hands, for an edition of letters.

Robert Becker, Department of English, University of Reading, Whiteknights Park, Reading.

Eden Philpotts: whereabouts of any manuscripts or documents, also any personal reminiscences, for a biography.

Rita Pope, Old School House, Mylor Bridge, Falmouth, Cornwall TR11 5NA.

Stephen Phillips (1864-1915), poet and dramatist: whereabouts of any letters or biographical information.

Richard Whittington-Egan, 24 Marlborough Road, London SW15.

Sophie Fréderique Mathilde, Queen of the Netherlands, Princess of Wurtemberg (1818-77): whereabouts of any documents or letters for a study of her life and political and intellectual role in Europe.

C. A. Tansey, Department of History, University of Southampton, Southampton SO9 5NH.

Clarence James Saunders, actor and theatre manager: whereabouts of any information about him or his theatre, for a history.

D. C. Yeoman, 5 Church Farm Lane, Sidlesham, Chichester, West Sussex.

Sara Teasdale (1884-1933), poet: whereabouts of any letters from her to people in England, for a critical biography.

William Drake, Department of English, College of Arts and Science at Oswego, New York 13126, New York, USA.

Dame Maggie Teyte: whereabouts of any information about her, for a biography.

Garry O'Connor, 24 Chalfont Road, Oxford OX2 6TL.

St. Charles Thomas Staniford (1858-1932): any recollections of the later years, also any information about his literary executor.

150 Green Street, San Francisco, California 94133, USA.

Mary Ella Waller (1855-1938): any information about her or her literary executor, for a biography.

J. Wesley Miller, 5 Birchland Avenue, Springfield, Massachusetts 01119, USA.

Joseph Wall, sometime Rector of St. Andrew's, Somerset: any information about him, for a study of his impact on Protestant Christianity.

Joseph M. Confield, 934 Northwinds Drive, Deerfield, Illinois 60015, USA.

A bad start and after

By Stuart Sutherland

ANN M. CLARKE and A. D. B. CLARKE: Early Experience 314pp. Open Books, £3.95.

MICHAEL RUTTER and NICOLA MADGE: Cycles of Disadvantage 413pp. Heinemann Educational, £2.50.

"Analytic experience has convinced us of the complete truth of the common assertion that the child is psychologically other of the man and that the events of his first years are of paramount importance for his whole subsequent life." The truth of this sentiment of Freud's is still taken for granted, as witness Anthony Storr's recent pronouncement that "modern research more and more emphasizes that what happens to babies in the first year or two of life is vitally important not only for their emotional health, but for their intellectual development."

Modern research, in fact, shows nothing. In *Early Experience* Ann and Alan Clarke set out to refute Freud's myth. They republish several recent papers on the subject and add their own commentary: the evidence they adduce is of three kinds.

First, they report a number of case histories of children who were rescued from conditions of appalling deprivation. Perhaps the most convincing is the story of twins who were initially reared in children's homes and were then confined to a cellar from the age of eighteen months to seven years. They were malnourished, beaten, and had no intercourse with adults or older children: the cellar contained only a table and a few building blocks and there were no opportunities for exercise. When discovered, the twins were unable to walk and had to be pushed around in wheelchairs; they communicated with one another by gestures and although they tried to imitate adult speech their articulation was so poor as to be unintelligible and they were unable to answer questions. They could not recognize pictures and they were terrified of many ordinary objects like mechanical toys and television sets. Their mental age was estimated to be about three years. After a period in hospital they were placed in a children's home, at first for disadvantaged to a very good foster home. By the age of fourteen, their intelligence was normal and their emotional and social reactions had also greatly improved. Since they were born in 1960 we cannot be sure how far

they will grow into normal adults, but it is clear that they have already made up most of the ground lost through seven years of emotional and cognitive impoverishment.

The second kind of study reported concerns groups of children who were deliberately moved to more stimulating environments at ages between one and three. Several of these studies again demonstrate large gains in mental capacity resulting in normal attainments despite severe deprivation in the early years of life.

The Clarks also examine the effects of introducing special educational programmes for children from poor homes before the age of six. Providing "pre-schools" for such children can greatly improve their cognitive abilities, but only if the programmes involve systematic efforts to teach the children to achieve little. Moreover, the improvements tend to be lost as soon as the intervention programme is normal school the child goes to a life of deprivation in the early years of life can be reversed by providing the child with a better environment, so that the effect of an enriched environment are lost as soon as the enrichment is discontinued.

It was for this reason that the Head Start programme, carried out in the United States as a cost of over a billion dollars, proved abortive. More recently, efforts have been made to train mothers from inadequate homes to manage their children more constructively, in the hope that the mother's support will enable the child to carry the resulting improvements in cognitive ability through into the school years: it is too early to say how far such efforts will succeed.

The Clarks have demonstrated that that recovery from severe deprivation in early childhood is possible, but only if the environment is radically improved. In so far as it calls into question the idea of "critical periods" for development, this finding is of theoretical importance and will surprise many. Its practical implications are more equivocal: although it is possible to help deprived children, the scale of the effort required makes such help difficult to implement even if society were prepared to place the interests of the child before the wishes of the natural parents.

Cycles of Disadvantage is a more ambitious book than *Early Experience*. Michael Rutter and Nicola Madge primarily address the question of how far disadvantage is transmitted from one generation to the next through such factors as inheritance, family interactions, social class, or neighbourhood, but the book comprises a monumental review of studies on disadvantage

quency which started in 1977 and then went optimistically backwards to 1890; it could certainly be made as persuasive as some of the standard developmental texts.)

There is at least an attempt to see particular criminological accounts as related to more general ideas about American society, so that functionalism, for example, is historically related to an emphasis upon value consensus and national homogeneity, while the prominence of labelling theory is linked to a growing national stress upon cultural pluralism and the diversification of life-style. This is certainly better than seeing intellectual developments as only related to each other (functionalism supercedes disorganization theory and is in turn superseded by the labellers), but it remains at a descriptive level. The correspondence is noted but hardly explained.

It could also be said that Pinestone gives a more comprehensive view of the Chicago school than some of his rival textbook writers: there's a special section on Jane Addams's 1909 study, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, and a good account of the Chicago Area Project on which he worked for a time. But again there is nothing here which has not already been said in one way or another, and it is hardly surprising that the opening parts of *Becoming Deviant* (Is this, one wonders, ungenerously, why Madge's book does not get a single reference in the text even though it first appeared in 1966?)

It is not as though he had any really novel ideas about how to approach the subject: the book is as firmly rooted in received texts as most of its predecessors; it follows the familiar chronological route, stopping at all the main stations on the line between Chicago ecology, functionalism and labelling theory (Stew and McKay, Merton, Becker) and happily subscribes to the usual comforting notion that we are slowly moving towards a real understanding of the "problem". (How nice it would be to encounter a survey of approaches to delin-

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What the patres say

By J. N. D. Kelly

WILLIAM G. RUSCH:

The Later Latin Fathers
214pp. Duckworth. £8.95.

The student of early Christian literature uses a "patrology" much as a traveller a Baedeker or Blue Guide. In recent years he has been particularly well served, the most satisfying guide probably being B. Altaner's *Patrologia* (English edition, 1960), which packs an enormous amount of information into a single volume, covers both Greek and Latin literature, and occasionally comes out in a revised edition. More ambitious and better known to English readers is *Patrology*, the huge, three-volume compilation by J. Quasten, but for all its thoroughness the different sections of which this is composed vary in quality. Moreover, a fourth volume dealing with Latin literature after the council of Nicea (325) has so far not appeared.

Without actually admitting it, this is the gap which William G. Rusch's slim volume aims at filling. It surveys the literary productions of Latin Christianity from Nicea until the death of Isidore of Seville (836), when the patristic age came to an end in the West. This was a period of extraordinary richness and variety, yet, as Rusch points out, the writers of the period could boast in the first three centuries, the fourth and fifth centuries saw the emergence of mon-

of world stature like Augustine and Jerome. Even the lesser figures—Hilary of Poitiers, Marius Victorinus, Caesarius of Arles, etc.—are full of varied fascination; while Pelagius is as austere as splendid in his prose as he is problematic in his thought. There was also a flowering of Christian poetry, sparse in quantity but sometimes brilliant, contemporary with this golden age of Christian Latin prose.

Mr Rusch's book is in the same series as, and is in part a sequel to, the late Leslie Cross's distinguished study, *The Early Christian Fathers* (1960), which examined the surviving Christian literature, Greek as well as Latin, down to the end of the third century. It also follows broadly the same plan, providing a summary discussion of each author, a list of his writings and description of their contents, and a short bibliography. Mr Rusch's volume is a more pedestrian work than Professor Cross's, which was written with great elegance and insight and brought a fresh touch to even familiar topics. Its style and manner of presentation are commonplace, and its arrangement can be odd. "Sentences" (even Pelagius) are carefully segregated from "orthodox" writers, and papers are chronologically placed first in each of the two main divisions. Nevertheless it is a workmanlike, scholarly manual distilling sound information and sensible judgments, and should provide beginners in patristic studies with useful introductions to the writers of the period. The claim on the dustjacket that it will prove "invaluable" to advanced workers is more doubtful.

Editorial overview

By B. C. Butler

WILLIAM REES-MOGG:

An Humbler Heaven
99pp. Hamish Hamilton. £3.50.

Religion is many-faceted. For the believer it is at once divine initiative and human response. The initiative is directed to man, and man is both the individual person and the social complex in which he lives. It is therefore true, but less than adequate, to describe religion as what man does with his soul; for it is equally one who is to hand it over to the sociologists. The two sides have to be held together. They are in tension, but they enrich and condition each other.

The social and cultural aspect of religion, it would seem, is what has moved William Rees-Mogg to write *An Humbler Heaven*. "There is no other subject that in the present state of the world seems more worth writing about." Well, the editor of *The Times* is in a privileged position to assess the importance in the flow of affairs.

He has, however, found it desirable to present his credentials. This he does by a patently honest history of his religious development, from an unquestioning Catholic childhood, through a decline in religious observance in adolescence and early manhood, to a gradual but definitive recovery of both practice and firm conviction at about the age of thirty. He admits to being influenced by some paranormal experiences which (like certain brief periods of tranquility) are of little or no evidential value. Those who have not shared them, but yet have tended to convince him that materialism cannot be the final answer.

It appears to have been the vast literature of religion, from the Old Testament and the New Testament to the documents of the Christian tradition, and particularly Jesus as disclosed in the New Testament, that finally left him with such a conviction of the reality of religious experience that he now holds it as certain fact that there is something that he merely opines.

The religions of the West (and he thinks the great Eastern religions), "all tell us of a spiritual reality which is perfect, which is loving, and which enters men's

hearts". Thus he has become a fully committed Catholic Christian, while at the same time acknowledging the truth-values of other religions. "We see in the saints men who have been set free. We believe that it is the truth which set them free, and that it is to believe that the saints were set free by it."

He goes on to evaluate our own age in the West—"a hollow period, in the way that an individual personality can be hollow if there is no vital motive". Britain, Mr Rees-Mogg believes, has lost its faith and (in consequence, he implies) respect for law is at a discount. The life of the family is undermined, social relationships are devolved, and "all the area seem to offer the absence of religion, the absence of a common world, the absence of a common purpose."

Mr Rees-Mogg himself does not despair. He even thinks that our European culture might still revive—if there is an early revival of religion. And the "spirit of love", which is primary in religion, is something that has been given to mankind irrevocably by Jesus. God made man out of love for us. Hence, *An Humbler Heaven* concludes with a description of "the new religion" as (not exclusively mine) the revelation and challenge and response of love. "Johannine", both as presented by the author of the Fourth Gospel, and as embodied in Pope John XXIII, the one great international saint of the modern world, the saint known to all nations."

I have described, rather than criticized, Mr Rees-Mogg's book. I do not quite see how a Christian can usefully criticize it, though no doubt unbelievers will wish to put their questions. For myself, I love that the author loves; the Catholic Christian faith; European culture; Britain. May they come together as he still hopes they will.

A study of Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and the revival of patristic theology in the early Italian Renaissance, *Humanism and the Church Fathers*, by Charles L. Stinger, has recently been published by State University of New York Press. \$30. Extensive use of Traversari's massive epistolary has enabled the author to cover many aspects of Traversari's life and times, including his spiritual and intellectual formation, his studies in Rome, the Renaissance of patristic studies, and the union of the Greek and Latin Churches.

The Historical Experience

By R. W. Southern

This is the text of this year's Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge last month.

In 1524 the executors of the late Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Sir Robert Redo, endowed three courses of lectures on ancient literature, logic, and philosophy. In doing this they could not have imagined that they were opening the way for a sizeable number of lectures on history. The only place in their scheme where history could have found a place would have been as a relatively minor branch of ancient literature. Yet, when in 1858 the Rede Lectures were reorganized, it was inevitable—even in Cambridge—which took less readily than Oxford to history as an academic subject—that history would take a large share of whatever remained of Sir Robert Redo's benefaction. How has it come about that historians have been able to put their studies so freely into other men's hands?

It is really a most unlikely development with many sides to it, and I can do no more than provide an outline answer, concentrating on the fundamental question of the change in the nature and importance of our experience of the past, which has been reflected in the titles of many Rede Lectures since 1858, and not least in the title of this. Since experience is something which can be described from within, I will venture to begin with the most primitive elements in my own historical experience; and then inquire why experiences of this kind have seemed more important during the past 150 years than ever before. Finally I shall ask what kind of importance, if any, such experiences are likely to have in future.

In the complete historical experience there are three stages: first the individual perceptions which are the bricks out of which our historical edifices are built; then the refinements of these perceptions to every area of social or private life to form large areas of intelligibility; and finally the arranging of this material to form works of art of a species and distinctive kind. These are, as I conceive, the activities proper to a historian, and all three stages deserve a careful study. But here I shall examine only the first and most primitive stage of the historical experience, the initial perceptions.

Very often first impressions are very discouraging. The words of the document in front of us may make grammatical sense, but their historical meaning may be entirely hidden. Then suddenly, perhaps

Nothing in the past is usable until it has been the subject of a vivid perception, and it is important to know what it is we are expecting to perceive. The situation of the historian is like this. He has in front of him some object: it may be a charter, or a prayer, or a legal document, or a work of art, or a symbolic object like a crown, a throne, a sceptre, or something of common use like a word or a pot, or the foundations of an ancient hall, or the arrangement of chapels in a great church. He who views these things as a historian is not concerned with their aesthetic qualities, but only with the ways in which they express the minds, intentions, problems and limitations of those who created them or for whom they were created.

If it is a charter he will want to know not simply what it was designed to do, but (even more) what social conventions, intellectual equipment, legal and linguistic relations and technical skills went into its making. It was in a situation it was designed to correct or promote, and what forces brought it into existence. The historian's whole attention is concentrated on the perception of its relationship with the physical and mental world to which it originally belonged. He looks at an object as a biologist might look at a fossil of an extinct species—as a fragment from which he hopes to create the complete structure of the creature to which it belonged. And both the historian and the biologist are able to do this for the same reason—that there is a logic in the form of the past which requires that the parts fit together in a certain way and in no other. In a historical inquiry there is only one test of the importance of an event or an object: that is the number of ramifications which it suggests and the size of the area which it illuminates. The most insignificant object may have a greater power of illumination than the most splendid. In my own area of study a village chart may do more for us than Maynooth Castle, a single word in an obscure text more than many State papers. Importance in any other sense is unimportant.

As to the first point, it is more important that the initial perception should be sharp and vivid than that

from some single clue—the form of a name, or the identification of a person, or the appearance of a familiar formula—light dawns. It is an experience like that in childhood when we are lost. At one minute we are surrounded by meaningless objects conveying nothing except incipient panic. Then something, maybe a word, or the shape of a kerbside, stands out as recognizable; a small area of intelligibility appears in the midst of chaos; it grows larger and takes in more objects; the scene fits together and we are safe. That is what it is like when we have that most primitive form the historical experience I am speaking of.

I think any historian must have had this experience of a sudden perception which gradually makes sense of a whole large area of the past many thousands of times. The satisfaction that we get from such a discovery is not only of peace and diminished. Yet I cannot remember without emotion the first time it happened to me. It was in October 1927, I was fifteen. Like many thousands of my young every year I was facing the depressing prospect of writing an essay on King Henry VII. Acres of facts of intolerable dreariness and frightening unintelligibility stretched out in all directions, numbing the senses. Then suddenly, out of nowhere, the precious words formed themselves in my mind. I can see them yet. They were: "Henry VII was the first King of England who was a business man." Wrong, of course, or right only in a rather peculiar sense. But no words can now express the illumination they then brought with them. Tracks appeared in the jungle; it was possible to advance. Heaven knows the tracks were few enough; perhaps not more than the prongs of Moray's famous fork; but they sufficed for the thing worked. Guide and naïve though it was, it was a historical experience as genuine as any I have ever had. So let me not blush to examine it more closely, for it had most of the characteristics which we shall find in the more important perceptions we are soon to examine. First, it was very sharp and vivid; second, it had a private and personal significance; and third, it worked. All are important.

As to the first point, it is more important that the initial perception should be sharp and vivid than that

It should be true. Truth comes from error more easily than from confusion. It is only by having a vivid perception that an energetic search can begin; without it, there is only languid and aimless confusion. Second, the initial formulation must have in it some urgency of personal significance. My own poor perception about Henry VII came from a large hidden body of experience of daily life in a northern industrial town—Newcastle, no less—objects, the scene fits together and we are safe. That is what it is like when we have that most primitive form the historical experience I am speaking of.

Then lastly, the initial perception must work—that is to say it must connect down when it is applied. The best perceptions are not only unreframed. They bring together, within a single system, many apparently disconnected and trivial facts or habits which have not been brought together before.

Even the thread of a single word as it is seen running through a period of time may provide a view of a changing scene perceived in a new way or with a new clarity. A few weeks ago for example my attention was attracted by the word "infalible" which had a portentous impact on the world in 1870 when it was incorporated in a famous doctrinal statement. The ripples of that impact have not yet subsided and there is a certain interest in observing the humble origin of this important word. The fortunes of words are among the least well charted areas of the past, but it takes very little research to discover that the Latin word got lost for many centuries without feeling the need for this powerful and unusual tool. It first appears as one of the novelties of the twelfth century to which we owe so much of our traditional intellectual equipment. The point of departure would seem to have been the occurrence of the word *infallibilis* in the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Topics* which became current about the middle of the twelfth century. It is there used as an example of a false proposition in the phrase "a geometrical circle is not *infallibilis*"; and from this unpromising start it made its way, slowly at first, and then with increasing momentum in the thirteenth century into common speech. At first it seems to have been used chiefly to describe the power behind the unvarying processes of nature. It was in this sense that it was used by Gerald of Wales in about 1190 to describe the way in which dogs identify their masters by their smell, "as if Nature had implanted the whole infallible power of experience in the nose". Then the uses of the word were extended to describe the certainty of the senses, the truth of dogma, the conclusions of geometry, the attributes of God. Thomas Aquinas used the word in all these senses; and lesser moralists, historians and others, were beginning at that time to use it for all kinds of events or expectations which were as certain as anything can be. Shortly it became established in the vernacular language; and finally—perhaps not until the seventeenth century—it reached its peak as a uniquely emphatic way of expressing the highest power of the papacy.

Words are only straws in the wind, but as we follow this word's cautious way of nature which common speech, it shows us the search for fundamental certainty in the thirteenth century and later, which could not be seen in many ways, but is here unconsciously displayed in the slight and unregarded symptom of an immense desire.

To follow the ramifications of these simple things is one of the greatest pleasures of the historian. The difficulty is knowing when to stop, and it is better to stop too early than too late. So I will only observe that in all these ramifications we seek simply to extend the vividness and variety of the areas of intelligibility in the past. The intelligibility we obtain is not open to any demonstration by logic or experiment. The only guarantee of truth is the internal consistency of the evidence, and the converging support which each bit adds to the rest. We seek congruency between the various bits of evidence; we seek congruency also with our own experience of the possible. It must not be beyond our powers to conceive that we might ourselves have thought or behaved thus in the circumstances and under the pressure which our observations of the past have brought to light. There is no further certainty in history than this combination of coherence and intelligibility. And it must be confessed that in the end there is a frailty at the basis of history, a

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The reactionaries of Rome

By John Matthews

RAMSAY MACMULLEN:
Roman Government's Response to
Crisis AD 235-337
208pp. Yale University Press.
£12.60.

A papyrus document of AD 304, published in 1968, preserves the declaration of the emperor of Egypt, a full and accurate inventory of the possessions of his church for confiscation in the Great Persecution of Diocletian, "neither gold nor silver nor money nor clothes nor beasts nor slaves nor lands nor property either from grants or bequests excepting only the bronze gate which was delivered to be carried down to glorious Alexandria." The declaration was found in triplicate, the copies identically worded but written in the hands of three different scribes. Only a few years before, the government whose oppression evoked this bureaucratic miniature had met the problem of inflation by confidently printing in the hands of the emperor, which rushes for the emperor's hand with no thought for mankind, then fixing statutory maximum prices for an extraordinary range of goods and services: "Cabbages, second quality, 4 denarii for ten; Scribes, for writing of second quality, 20 denarii per hundred lines."

Ramsay MacMullen's new book is a study of the moral and intellectual as well as material resources of Roman government during the greatest crisis which it had so far known (running, say, from 235 to 284) and its hard-won recovery in the ages of Diocletian and Constantine the Great (d.337). It is an initially unpromising picture. We are shown a ruling elite, formed by a literary culture which not only

left its members deficient in technical and numerical expertise, but with limited understanding even of the basic facts of Roman history and no conception of the general course of its development. Confronted by problems of political and social disorder which it was not equipped to diagnose effectively, the government responded to the instinctive belief fostered by this culture, that the solution lay in a restoration of the past, its beliefs and morality. Hence the Christian persecutions, which Professor MacMullen views with a cool and sceptical eye. Inspired by the conviction shared alike by plain man and sophisticate, that the gods were displeased by the religious disunity caused by the Christians (as in due course, under a Christian empire, by Christian heretics), the government tried to eliminate them, and so "priceless energies were squandered."

In more immediate matters, the policy of the government amounted to a series of earlier administrative practice. Goods and services were requisitioned in place of money of rapidly declining value, local dignitaries enrolled to do the dirty work in tax collection, public needs in transport and provisioning met by making the relevant occupations compulsory from father to son—all this in the empire of great regional variations, diverse systems of law and taxation, slow communications and unreliable information. As the time, an increasing sense of control of the details of social life resulted in a swelling bureaucracy and (it goes without saying) swelling opportunities for corruption, evasion and profiteering. Not that that would have always been the case. In such terms of the less acceptable face of imperial government, "Justice" wrote one of them, "should of course always be a matter for the exercise of objective reason; but in the cases of nobles and men of standing, there is more room for a degree of judicial consideration, so that judg-

ment may be seen to be exercised with discretion."

A new society does emerge in the fourth century, its configuration determined by the crisis of the third; it is, as MacMullen says, like emerging from a long Alpine tunnel into a new country. The tunnel represents the dearth of evidence for the major part of his period, one of more or less continuous warfare, foreign and civil, little in the way of orthodox political history, and incomprehension or silence on the part of traditional literary authorities—who did not much like being governed by the Danubian ex-pensives whose professional abilities in the military crisis were given their full scope. It is not at this level that Professor MacMullen locates his analysis. Noting that military anarchy, if prolonged, is in its own way a source of continuity, he shifts to a crisis view first the reactions to crisis among the populations of the empire, and then the responses of the government. This is done in a series of snappily entitled and briskly written chapters on what are in fact very large topics: "Propaganda," "Intelligence," "Law," "Money," "Taxes," "Goods and Services," "Defense."

The method is inevitably impressionistic, the conclusions rather general in nature—on occasions frustratingly so, as when Professor MacMullen remarks that the burden of demands made by the emperors of the third century "must have been unbearable." But there is no attempt to disguise where the difficulties lie. The great erudition of the work is kept under the counter in the notes (printed at the end of the book), and one welcomes Professor MacMullen's refusal to be distracted by market-place disputes on the interpretation of particular problems and texts. Welcome, too, is his firm and sympathetic case in defence of these hard-headed emperors. Like everyone else, they were in the grip of necessity, only with greater and more varied obligations; and

their efforts, despite the difficulties, did much to secure recovery.

Professor MacMullen's emphasis on the literary as opposed to technical foundations of Roman government has an incidental topicality. The difficulty in the Roman case is that the two were not such mutually exclusive choices as might appear from a modern point of view. In an inscription discussed by Professor MacMullen for other purposes in an earlier book (*Soldier and Citizen in the Later Roman Empire*), a military officer in North Africa described how he had been called in to correct the course of a tunnel being driven through a mountain to carry water to a city. His account is given in rather laboured and awkward technical language, but is presented as the work of a man of letters, a skillful draughtsman, learned in geometry, familiar with historical studies, and a diligent student of philosophy (not to mention music, medicine, law and astronomy). The relationship between technical and literary and other artistic skills seems in ancient society to be more complex and subtle than one might first suspect.

Like all his work, Professor MacMullen's book is invigorating, positive in approach and decisive in conclusion. It is a pleasure to read a book which already seen before his appearance, and have gone away.

The climate at court

By Robin Cormack

FLAVIUS CRESCONTIUS CORIPPUS:
In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris
Edited with translation and commentary by Averil Cameron
224pp. Athlone Press, £12.95.

The sixth-century poet Corippus has never been overrated by scholars, but the revelation of this important book is that he has been seriously underappreciated. The writer who illuminates his historical period, Corippus started his career as a teacher in North Africa who transferred to some sort of imperial post in the court of Justinian the Great in Constantinople, after producing (soon after 548) an epic poem on the exploits of the Byzantine general John Troglita. The narrative poem *In Praise of Justin II*, edited, translated, and annotated by Averil Cameron, is, like the previous work, a Latin, though intended this time for the environment of the Greek court in Constantinople. The verses are traditional linguistically, but the form and treatment of panegyric is original. The hexameters are smooth and refreshingly direct in expression. Justin II came to the throne in November 565, and the poem was written within a year, or so as a piece of court propaganda to support the legitimacy of the emperor and to boost the image of a man succeeding one of the undoubtedly "great" Corippus is wholly favourable to Justin, for the obvious reasons.

From the purely factual point of view, the poem is not an important source for the opening period of the reign. But thanks to Dr. Cameron, its value in explaining how a member of the court saw the emperor and understood his actions is now fully established. Corippus supplies an explicit expression of the Christian intellectual concept of the Byzantine emperor in the second half of the sixth century. He is a "divine" writer, not only in the literal sense that he describes the settings of the imperial court and the artifices around the emperor, but also in that his whole mode of thinking is akin to that of the visual artist. These aspects of the poem are vividly delineated in the commentary of Dr. Cameron, and her observations are a major contribution to Byzantine art-history.

While the book is of importance in several fields—it offers a text with an apparatus criticus and the first English translation of the

poem, which is interesting for its survival in a single manuscript (tenth-century Visigothic)—it is surely the artist-historian who can best do justice to the work. It is true, perhaps, that this is not the ideal format yet the commentary can be recommended as a mine of information.

For example, two well-known figures of a Byzantine emperor are identified here not as Ariadne, wife of Anastasius but Sophia, the formidable wife of Justin II. This new identification, which is a compelling one, depends on three points made in the poem, and so the argument is fragmented into three notes.

It would be a pity if the form of this publication limited its use to specialists, for the interpretations offered deserve a broad audience. The message of this study is that Byzantine writing can illuminate the cultural history of this opaque society more fully than can the visual arts. An awareness that Corippus could speak of the Emperor Justin both as a Roman warrior-emperor and as the Christian servant of God helps to explain the coexistence in art of Christian figures both in an illusionistic classical style and in an "otherworldly" mode. In other words, since the personality of the individual Byzantine emperor affected the intellectual and cultural climate, the thinking of one member of that court, writing to please the rest, must be the best guide to the cultural thinking of the age and a new kind of pietism which seems to have changed the whole climate of Byzantine society and its art.

In the first part of *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (1955), The American Philological Association, \$5). D. R. Shackleton Bailey diversifying lines and lovingly dissects a variety of names, misnamed or misunderstood. The names of the age of Cicero in the second part, the traps set by adoptive nomenclature are exposed. Both this growing political use of adoption and the gradual abandonment of the traditional rules governing adoption are discussed in the light of the dissolution of the Roman aristocracy in the last generation of the Republic. Piety towards family *sacra* had once submerged an adoptive son in his new family; calculation of personal advantage now prevailed and allowed a man to retain a name which recalled his original, perhaps more eminent, family. The adoptive son of Caesar was happy to discover that piety and interest combined.

In praise of interpretation

By Samuel Lipman

ALFRED BRENDL:
Musical Thoughts and
Reflections
168pp. Robert Books, £5.25.

REGINALD R. GERIG:
Famous Pianists and Their
Techniques
560pp. David and Charles, £8.50.

The piano remains by all odds our most popular serious musical instrument. Not only is it a piano in the house—not to mention piano lessons for the children—even today a mark of social advancement, but at the level of public fame, major solo careers similar to those of the past are still being made in significant numbers. Once having made those careers, the lucky performers last longer on the stage than their singing and dancing colleagues, if not as long as some of the great conductors. This evidence, along with the existence of a large body of masterworks written for the piano and its immediate forebears and going back before Beethoven to Mozart and Haydn, makes the piano what it is, a natural corollary, will always be so.

Since this view of the piano's eternality is so widely held (even in the face of the fact that both the piano and the solo recital in their present form date only from the last half of the nineteenth century) one can only welcome the opportunity these two books provide for us to examine the current state of affairs in the piano world. Such an opportunity is all the more interesting because these books, and their authors, have different approaches and indeed different subjects; the well-known Austrian pianist Alfred Brendel is concerned with great music and its intellectual and emotional communication, while Reginald Gerig is happy to write of a type so necessary to the health of pianistic culture—a man with an insatiable curiosity about what makes the fingers go.

Mr. Brendel, whose career has recently seemed to take on a new dimension of international renown and acclaim, has written an article dating from 1966 and written to mark the completion of his recording of Beethoven's piano works. Here he discusses the conditions under which the recording was made, the differences between Beethoven's piano and ours, and many of the pieces themselves. He has some wise things to say about texts and editions, and is to be commended for taking a strong position against those performances whose primary goal is historical exactitude.

In his immediately following comments on the subject of the "afterthoughts" of his book's title—he expands his remarks on the tasks of the interpreter to treat in enlightening detail Beethoven's indications for dynamics and articulation, pedal, and modification of tempo. The next, and last, of his three pieces on Beethoven is a consideration of the relationship in his sonatas between their psychological content and the formal means which express that content. He defines the sonata's content as "a drama in which the character of the principal theme predominates." This predominance

is conveyed by a process which Mr. Brendel calls "fore-shortening"—the melodic, motivic, harmonic, and rhythmic condensation and tightening of the musical material.

The second section of Mr. Brendel's book is concerned with Schubert's piano sonatas and their defence against charges that the composer's style did not develop, that his sonatas are failed copies of Beethoven's, and the stronger passions, and are finally unprincipled. It comes as no surprise that, to Mr. Brendel, Schubert's greatness is equal to, if different from that of Beethoven. The difference lies in the fact that

compared to Beethoven the architect Schubert composed like a sleepwalker. In Beethoven's sonatas we never lose our bearings; they justify themselves at all times, Schubert's sonatas happen. There is something disarmingly naive in the way they happen, and Mr. Brendel has been neglected, as chief among them are his lack of virtuoso self-confidence, the lack of performance and publication during his lifetime, his initial reputation as a (mere) song writer, both the classicism of music lovers (their distrust of Schubert's happy use of classical forms), his uncomfortable attitude towards virtuosity, and finally the desire of the Viennese public for the easy-going Rossini and Donizetti. That these many reasons may strike a reader as often contradictory seriously diminishes neither their individual suggestiveness for performers nor their interest for music lovers who feel a need to place their love for Schubert in some kind of intellectual context.

The writings on Liszt which follow are an attempt—successful only in the sense that they already con- veyed to us—of the composer's pianistic and pianistic ideal for serious music. Liszt's work, Mr. Brendel finds, faithfully and fatally mirrors the character of its interpreter. When his works give the impression of being hollow, superficial and pretentious, the fault lies usually with the performer, occasionally with the (prejudiced) listener, and only very rarely with Liszt himself.

On this view, Liszt both in composition and performance was a phenomenon of the expressive rather than virtuosic, a great revolutionary anyone else saw the future of musical harmony has been defended by such modern figures as Debussy and Bartok. An indication of Mr. Brendel's willingness to challenge the until recently accepted image of Liszt as an aesthetic charlatan is his championing of the composer's monumental *Variations on a Theme of Bach* (using a bassoon). From the first movement of the cantata, *Wagner, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen*, though such a respected musical figure as the late Pierre Monteux saw this work as one of the greatest achievements in variation writing since the famous *Chaconne* of Bach, it remains unplayable, on grounds of good taste, in polite intellectual society; one wishes Mr. Brendel luck in his fight.

The remainder of the book includes three short sections on Busoni, two on Mr. Brendel's revered teacher, Edwin Fischer, and one on the problems a concert pianist has with the pianos available for his use. His writings about Busoni's music leave one interested, perhaps more to read about that enigmatic character than about his own music. His writings about Edwin Fischer will help to keep alive the name of an artist whose many recordings of Bach, Mozart, Schubert, Beethoven, and Brahms have received less publicity than those of his contemporary Arthur Schnabel as documents of the performance style rampant in Germany and Austria in the 1920s and 1930s. His comments about pianos will be of interest to those who are concerned with the piano itself and its playing, and by his colleagues, its requirements for satisfactory instruments are sensible and practical, as is his suggestion that pianists learn something about the inner mechanism of the piano, not only to play the piano more effectively, but also to play it more effectively.

But for all the valuable facts

and ideas contained in this book about the composers and their music—and piano performance as well—it is plain that the significance of Mr. Brendel's literary efforts is the same as his reason for writing at all: to justify and perhaps even expand the individual role permitted to an interpreter by our present guardians of musical virtue. He makes clear, for instance, the insurmountable difficulties which lie in the way of the perfect recapture of original performance styles; he writes succinctly and without rhetoric "we have to resign ourselves to the fact that whenever we hear Beethoven on a present-day instrument, we are listening to a sort of transcription." For him the interpreter should not only try to understand the intentions of the composer, but also to understand the intentions which in any case can only partially be understood from the most accurate recordings in existence. He also "seeks to give our work the strongest possible effect." He writes, "the more that an interpreter completely switches off his personal feelings and instead receives those of the composer 'from above' as a 'table'."

Though he is very much a child of our intellectual times in his frequent disclaimers of any desire to distort what the composer has written, he realises that such objectivity and the strong effect after which he aims may not always result one from the other. It is precisely because Mr. Brendel, in addition to his pianistic skills and his dedication to the music, is so conscious of himself and of his own role in his work that he may be counted as a fruitful force in bringing new life to music which may have begun to seem to many both overplayed and overfamiliar.

Mr. Alfred Brendel has resolutely taken the high road, some may feel Reginald Gerig, by writing at such length about piano technique, has taken a lower one. In point of fact, his book does more than discuss the famous pianists and their technique promised in the book's title; it also contains a history of keyboard instruments and the music written for them from the time of Rameau and Couperin and even earlier; in addition it is greatly concerned, especially in its coverage of the last century (which properly takes up more than half of the book) with famous theorists and their technical systems.

Much of the contents of Mr. Gerig's book is composed of lengthy excerpts from fairly well-known (as well as some less standard) how-to-do-it manuals. To these extended passages he adds his own commentary, beginning by stating his own preference for a "natural" piano technique, one based upon "those laws of nature... concerned with physiological movement and muscular co-ordination." He then proceeds to find, discovered and used these laws often by instinct; those not so gifted have often fallen prey to arbitrary systems "contrary to natural law and distorted in perspective."

He describes the early clavichord approaches recommended by the seventeenth-century Italian and English schools, in addition to the advice of Rameau and Couperin. He calls this knowledge "valuable" for pianists who by studying the harpsichord and the clavichord will "discipline their touch... [and] sharpen their listening powers." He discusses the work of C. F. C. Bach and quotes at length from his *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (1753 and 1762); one interested, perhaps more to read about that enigmatic character than about his own music. His writings about Edwin Fischer will help to keep alive the name of an artist whose many recordings of Bach, Mozart, Schubert, Beethoven, and Brahms have received less publicity than those of his contemporary Arthur Schnabel as documents of the performance style rampant in Germany and Austria in the 1920s and 1930s. His comments about pianos will be of interest to those who are concerned with the piano itself and its playing, and by his colleagues, its requirements for satisfactory instruments are sensible and practical, as is his suggestion that pianists learn something about the inner mechanism of the piano, not only to play the piano more effectively, but also to play it more effectively.

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Cutting down on people

By J. A. Banks

ROSANNA LEDBETTER:
A History of The Malthusian League
1877-1927
251pp. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. \$12.50.

This excellent account of the successes and failings of the Malthusian League may be read as a testimonial to the energies of five members of a single family. Between them, George Drysdale and his brother Charles, Charles Drysdale and his wife, Alice Vickers, their son, Charles Vickers Drysdale, and his wife, Bessie Ingham Edwards, spanned more than a hundred years of concentrated effort on behalf of the cause of family limitation through contraception, and for half that time virtually dominated the organization that effected the having of children. Although the book is a certain indecent lewd, filthy, bawdy and obscene book, it had preceded its establishment what Rosanna Ledbetter whimsically calls an "embryonic stage" in which, to adopt her labelling style, there occurred an abortive attempt by Charles Bradlaugh to launch such a league in 1861.

Bradlaugh was, of course, inspired by George Drysdale, who had begun his lifelong campaign in 1844 while he was still a medical student at Edinburgh, where he wrote his *Elements of Social Science* under its original title of *Physical, Sexual and Natural Religion*. Although Drysdale repudiated the term, his book was in fact a secularist attempt to base social morality on the Malthusian conception of human nature without its theological basis. To this degree the Malthusian League, those members wrote of themselves as neo-Malthusians.

was essentially pessimistic about the possibility of solving social problems, and especially the problems of the working classes, through state action directed at the economy. For all that, George Drysdale advocated a very permissive policy about sexual relationships, largely on the ground that it was the only way to get men *sana in corpore sano*, his social doctrine was derived from Malthus's conviction that large families were the primary cause of poverty.

Professor Ledbetter devotes one of her chapters to "Labor and the Malthusian League", where this pessimistic approach is shown to have run headlong against the optimism of the socialists in the last years of the nineteenth century. They, too, were concerned about the problem of poverty but thought that the size of working-class families was irrelevant and that the problem would be easily solved if only capitalism were replaced by collectivism. Indeed, some socialist propaganda to the Malthusian League because they believed that family planning was a "red herring" intended to draw the proletariat away from realizing that the real cause of its distress was the stranglehold on the economy exercised by landowners and capitalists. The Fabian Society, it is true, supported birth control, not because it believed that poverty could be removed through its use but because it brought "benefits" to health and economic standing to the working families. What most clearly emerges from this chapter, however, is the hostility of the Malthusian League to socialism and even to unionism on the ground, for example, that strikes caused losses in production which necessarily lowered working-class wages.

For their part the socialist bodies, more often than not, avoided a direct confrontation with the League on the issue of contraception. What they objected to publicly were the

social doctrines which were associated with the name of Malthus and which caused the League to oppose government proposals to help the working classes through better housing, school meals, and other such measures. If there were to be state action at all, the League countered, it should be directed against those discriminatory practices which made it difficult for the subject of birth control and for manufacturers and distributors of contraceptive devices to advertise these wares and to send them through the post.

That this was not simply a matter of legal restrictions or even of obscenity-conscious directors of public prosecutions is very well documented in a chapter on the doctors, clergymen and politicians, from which it is clear that a very small minority of all three was able successfully to persecute birth control advocates because the majority preferred to remain silent and many of them must have used contraception at home themselves. In part, this conspiracy of silence, as well as the threat of legal proceedings, seems to have inhibited the League from itself being explicit with specific instructions on how to prevent conception. When it eventually produced such a pamphlet, in 1913, it made it available only to applicants who first filled out and signed a declaration in duplicate, stating their age (twenty-one or over), marital status, and agreement with the League's arguments of neo-Malthusianism.

Altogether, then, the League's direct impact on the birth-rate, up to this time and afterwards, is likely to have been small, and Professor Ledbetter seems to believe that the publicity aroused by the prosecution of neo-Malthusian propagandists and of those engaged in "illicit traffic" did as much, if not more, to disseminate the contraceptive idea than all the efforts of the League itself. Reasonably enough, she does not take it as her task

to examine the social and economic conditions which prompted first the upper and middle classes and then the artisan sections of the working classes to limit the number of their offspring. What she shows convincingly is how very few Victorians and Edwardians were prepared to face public disapproval, prosecution in the courts and even persecution for expressing in print the desirability of such limitation.

In this account the Drysdales emerge as mistaken but always fervent propagandists and organizers on behalf of the smaller family. Without their unstinting service it seems unlikely that the Malthusian League would have survived, especially when efforts along the same lines but without their active support, came to no avail. When, in the changed atmosphere after the First World War, Marie Stopes's Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress (1921) and the Society for the Provision of Birth Control Clinics (1923) found existence, for various reasons, a militant birth-control policy, Charles Vickers Drysdale's devotion to the Malthusian doctrine of "foresight" is what this book so clearly reveals and in this regard it is read by all students of social change during the past two hundred years. It would be a pity if *A History of the Malthusian League* were to be regarded as a quarrel or of interest only to the students of population.

The peace persons

By Geoffrey Best

KEITH ROBBINS:
The Abolition of War
255pp. University of Wales Press. £5.

The only excitement (apart from bearing a part in a per-severing family's perpetual struggle against invasions) this child of the 1930s recalls from that decade of church attendance is the day when our next-door neighbour, a First World War veteran with a glass eye, walked out during a pacifist or pacifistic sermon by a young cleric to the front of the pulpit and, as if on another occasion suggested, I now surprisedly find myself recollecting, that Christians ought not to invest in armaments concerns. The last chapter of Keith Robbins's *The Abolition of War*, an admirable study of the significance of war-time pacifism for British politics between the wars, makes me realize that that disturber of the religious peace of our suburban congregation probably belonged to the Peace Pledge Union, one of the movement's more notable contributors to the twenty years' crisis. Another, and probably the best known of all (though Robbins warns us against overestimating its influence in the councils of the Labour Party) was the Union of Democratic Control. Yet another (and from this you will realize how broad a span of "pacifism" he covers) was the League of Nations Union.

Veterans of the movement's 1914-18 campaigning remained active: David Davies, Robert Cecil, Bertrand Russell, Clifford Allen, Miss C. E. Marshall, "War of Steel and Gold" Brailsford, "Great Illusion" Gold, Charles Trevelyan, Arthur Ponsonby, G. Lowes Dickinson, "Red Rubber" Morel, the Buxton brothers, Dickinson's *International Anarchy* (1926) and Ponsonby's *League of Nations in War-time* (1928) had enormous influence on the 1930s thinking about peace, war, defence and disarmament. And the prominent source of all this peace and war was what they had thought, said and done together (well, more or less together) when they were brought to the test by the First World War.

Parts of that story have already been studied in greater detail. This fine book's special merit is that it comprehensively tells the story as a whole. Since it is a single story of pacifists and those who, while not themselves absolute, consistent pacifists, nevertheless cared enough for "peace" to be willing to risk keeping pacifist company, and since these men and women of peace

spent a good deal of time tangling with each other, the text that tells their tale is pretty close-textured. Yet it is readable, now and then wryly witty, and its meaning is always crystal clear.

The story is told, sensibly enough, as one of actions and reactions related to the phases of the war. After an effective sketch of the peace movement from its early nineteenth-century origins, the leading dramatic personae are introduced in August and September 1914, when the war took most of them, as it took many of more military cut, by surprise. Then are sounded two themes which remain central through the rest of the performance: "planning for peace" (especially the UDC and what in the end became the LNU) and the "fight against militarism" (i.e. conscientious objection to military service, especially the tumultuous joining of the No Conscription Fellowship). Through 1916, the movement's participation in the campaign for a negotiated peace claims most of the limelight. Finally, the peace itself, the defects of which our peace-persons accurately predicted and, when it happened, acutely diagnosed.

What is to be learnt from this story? Did they achieve anything? Hardly any perceptible effect on national policy during the war. No doubt some honing of the great British public's feelings about war during the years that followed, but that was due to the changing (fascist) attitude of a government. The argument about appeasement goes on; and so does the greater one, about peace or war, or what, in our own day and that of our children. Professor Robbins's peace movement was partly made up of, and at least partly led by, idealists, cranks, sectarians, egotists, elitists (in spite of themselves), "trouble-makers" and wishful-thinkers. Experience of office in the 1920s led some to admit the error of their earlier years. Experience of Nazism later led others to the same conclusion. But war remains war, a political act and social activity notoriously prone to uncontrollable escalations and vicious spirals; peace remains peace, the condition that most of us (one presumes) would like to live in, if only we were sensible or brave or good enough to know how. The pacifists of the First World War were a curious mix, but may have been on the side of the angels more often than not. "Anything worth living for," said Nately, "is worth dying for." And anything worth dying for, answered the scrupulous old man, "is worth living for." Let the peace-persons' attitude of war that has made it possible, in some countries, to consider on their merits exchanges like that.

Academics and their writing

By David Lowenthal and Peter C. Wason

Writing ought to be of interest to academics because research is not complete until reported. Yet little is known about attitudes toward writing or the skills it requires. Both of us (a geographer and a psychologist respectively) enjoy writing, and had independently formed the impression that such enjoyment was far from universal. To find out how our colleagues viewed the matter, we distributed a questionnaire to the entire academic staff of University College London in the summer term of 1976. Here we discuss replies to our first question: "how much do you enjoy the actual process of writing?"

The response rate was low, with only 170 replies (17 per cent received). Several colleagues said that procrastination got the better of them. Others were not convinced by the rationale for our inquiry, and some considered the distribution of an intrusion into privacy. As a place of writing is a confrontation with oneself. The remark implies a taboo about the discussion of writing, like the taboos that affect sex, death, income and class. Further evidence for this assumption comes from the evasive or diffident replies often given to queries like "How is the book (paper, thesis, essay) going?" Such diffidence may have a pragmatic explanation: academic publications are closely linked with esteem and promotion, hence a discussion of writing may imply or inspire competitive feelings. But we did not think this the whole story. In any case, taboos are made to be broken.

Many of our colleagues find writing immensely enjoyable, others excruciatingly distasteful, and a combination of the two. One estimated his usual feeling about writing as three-quarters of the way along a line from love to hate. Many expressed a decided repugnance for writing. A physical scientist confessed to a "necessary chore, much more tedious than working in the lab, and far less enjoyable". A psychologist characterized writing as "worse than childbirth". A historian enjoyed it about as much as being sick. One reply summarized the disagreeable symptoms writing induced:

The initial gargling of material builds up high pressure of nervous excitement, leading to such

physical symptoms as redness in the face, headache, inability to sit down, lapses of concentration and extreme short temper, especially on inscription. Ordering of the material presents agonizing problems of re-thinking and usually destroying whole bodies of the original material; problems of sequence often lead to inability to write down a coherent sentence. The final product (is) well nigh unendurable!

Most respondents saw getting started as the most difficult part of writing. "I can think of an infinity of excuses for not embarking," wrote one; "once started it's much easier to keep going." Another confessed that "it takes a long time to get going. I have frequent blockages. The work has to be put aside for days or even weeks." Another never thought he was going to enjoy writing before he started, and was surprised to find he enjoyed it. He too absorbed to notice the effort. A biologist thought writing "rather like sea bathing; somewhat unpleasant in prospect, but not too bad once one has started."

Tales of procrastination were legion. Putting off the painful beginning of writing is an almost universal experience. However, no amount of practice seems to lessen the difficulty of filling up the first blank page. The problem may be ameliorated if one remembers that a first draft is not a sacred document: it is more like a sketch which becomes a stimulus to further thought. Words once set down take on a dynamic life of their own that help the final product to carry conviction.

Those who enjoyed writing were not forthcoming about their aversion to it. A historian who chose an academic career partly because of the "chance of being able to write" recalled Hemingway's assertion that "the only two things he had ever enjoyed were writing and sailing." Two much preferred writing "to any other aspect of academic life". Another contributed regularly to *New Scientist*, "in order to satisfy my verbal lusus". A psychologist considered the satisfaction of writing "like that of an athlete or ballet dancer, whose performance may involve much effort and even pain, however easy and graceful it may seem."

Those who tried to explain why writing gave them satisfaction emphasized that the end product was in fact those words that they communicated to. For them writing is a serial process to be monitored and corrected as the words are set down, should they fail to match or convey the original ideas.

An alternative method of composition, favoured by others, is to write out entire drafts without stopping for revision. One moves on from a paragraph to the next, or even to a new section, in the belief that it will later seem redundant or fall into place after more is written. The final text emerges from a series of successive drafts rather than from the serial correction of one draft. Whether these two approaches to writing are connected with differences in personality, with different learning procedures, or with different demands of the various disciplines is at present unknown.

Even these preliminary results raise important practical questions, in view of the acknowledged impoverishment of language. Many of our colleagues experience grave difficulties in writing and many others also exhibit intense ambivalence towards it; our students, not surprisingly, exhibit more accentuated difficulties. Many of us have encountered intelligent graduates who seem incapable of expressing their ideas with another, and who do not know what it means to rewrite a chapter in a thesis. How can they be helped when they do not even recognize that a problem exists? Can writing be taught at all, and if so, in what way? By precept, practice, or imitation? "In doing the ground-work," a lawyer wrote, "I begin to see a way of solving intellectual problems. Writing is the fruition of these internal dilemmas, struggles, breakthroughs." Even the psychologist who thought that writing was worse than childbirth agreed that it helped to discipline thinking. To several respondents, writing

was not merely an aid to thought, but a way of thinking, essential to intellectual endeavour. A historian expressed this cogently:

For me, literary composition is part of the process of scholarly research and discovery; for only in the course of working out exactly how I wish to present findings in my subject do I finally arrive at the discovery of what I have found out.

A political economist used this when speaking out thoughts on paper do I become fully aware of the gaps, obscurities and inconsistencies that until then were lurking undetected. Hence he wrote out lectures in full. "It's by writing that I move forward in my thinking," explained a librarian. "I know what I think, but I don't know what I say until I write it down."

Writing for me is an experience of knowing what to say. I can make endless schemes of how the piece should run but it never comes out according to plan. Until I have written a paragraph, I do not even know whether what I am saying is true. Once it is down in black and white I frequently see that it is not and then I have to ask myself why it is not . . .

This comment epitomizes our major findings. Those who planned their writing in detail ahead of time generally disliked the process; those who could think only as they wrote, enjoyed it most. And the latter enjoyed it in large measure because they recognized its role, not just in clarifying ideas, but also in originating them.

Those who enjoy writing seem to be implicitly aware that the creative process demands a degree of uncertainty. Constructing paragraphs, ordering sentences, choosing words, and shaping the whole into a coherent piece of work is satisfying not simply because it interprets research in the most appropriate way, but also because it enables one to question assumptions, to rethink conclusions, and to develop new lines of inquiry.

Some academics implicitly regard thought and its expression in writing as sharply separate; they believe they have an "idea" which remains constant, and which should be expressed in just those words that best communicate it. For them writing is a serial process to be monitored and corrected as the words are set down, should they fail to match or convey the original ideas.

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...avaits to come

By Hugh Tinker

DILIP HIRO:
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331pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £6.95.

The title of this book is a pun on the name of John Gunther's many "Inside" studies and the technique is much the same: the systematic accumulation of an immense quantity of facts which, put together, provide an extended "profile" of the subject. Gunther wrote from a liberal, middle-of-the-road viewpoint; Dilip Hiro's approach is radical and in an intellectual sense Marxist. Both have probed and questioned accepted interpretations. Dilip Hiro devoted nearly six years to research and writing. Towards the end of the process, Mrs Gandhi placed India under Emergency Rule. Soon after Hiro's book appeared, the India Gandhi regime was toppled in the greatest political upset India has seen in this century. It is a sign of the authority and coherence of this book that these tumultuous and (to most of us) unexpected events have served to authenticate the analysis in the title.

Hiro interpreted Mrs Gandhi's Raj as a system of corruption and oppression which carried out the goals of its own self-destruction, within its body politic. This is a closely written and closely argued narrative; Hiro demonstrates that during the thirty years since independence the majority of the people of India have enjoyed no economic improvement; indeed, they have become poorer. Meanwhile, the capitalist-industrial class, entrepreneurs have become richer. The bottom two fifths of the population's share in the national wealth declined from 20 to 15 per cent in the last decade, while the top fifth increased from 28 to 37 per cent. India consumes one fifth of the world's total production of gold or rather, the rich provide the consumption. Congress government reinforced this polarization of rich and poor, despite the slogans about the abolition of poverty. A Congress minister conceded that between 40 and 50 per cent of Indians live in "abject poverty" and Hiro argues that the whole Congress record is of "radical-sounding words combined with conservative actions". Indeed, Congress policy has abetted development by switching resources to defence and security. Between 1972 and 1975, military spending increased by 41 per cent, although India's adversary, Pakistan, was no longer any kind of threat. Much of this increase was intended to ensure national security: to prevent any threat emerging from the subcontinent, not with an strategy of rural resistance.

Dilip Hiro believes that Mrs Gandhi has operated behind the scenes, directing Communists with ruthlessness which has obsessed her. When the State of West Bengal rejected Congress in favour of a Leftist United Front, Mrs Gandhi liquidated the Front, government, and engineers, an action which (in March, 1972) all the power and ingenuity of the central government was employed

democracy might be preserved. The fragility of that notion is the subject of these three articles by Ashok Mitra. Written between 1972 and 1975 they provide a grimly accurate account of the pre-history of Mrs Gandhi's "Emergency" regime: a prophetic account of the growth of coercion and corruption within the ruling establishment. Today these highways, being back memories of Mitra's tireless campaign during the Emergency to create some awareness in the West of an India shackled and silenced.

In the late 1960s in the Gandhi government's relatively progressive phase, Mitra was chief economic adviser; in the early 1970s he became one of its most severe critics. He thus had both moral authority and the authority of experience but the remarkable scope of his writing comes from a more particular Bengali tradition. Mitra's mentor Sachin Chaudhuri (the founder of the prestigious *Economic and Political Weekly* where these articles were

first published) belongs to the "bhadrak" of Calcutta; an influential progressive elite, involved in bureaucratic Delhi or "bawallah" Bombay. In the nineteenth century with the Young Bengal Movement, the bhadrak initiated the "Bengali Renaissance" whose politics and poetry struggled together against the British Raj; in the twentieth century they have produced many of India's most progressive politicians and artists—Tagore, Aurobindo, Jinnah, Roy, Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen, Nirad Chaudhuri, Bose, Basu and Chatterjee. Mitra belongs in this tradition, as he once wrote of Sachin Chaudhuri by virtue of his "totalizing" vision, moving effortlessly "between literature and economics and philosophy and active politics". The result is a series of vivid juxtapositions of feeling: pity for the poet Buddhadev Bose whose audience shrank with the partition of Bengal in 1947; scorn for India's marauding economists whose present role is paralleled by that played by the Brahmins; fear at the "totalism" that depoliticizes the Indian consciousness; and fire for the Lord, Marx, and the members of the literary, the toothless ones... what should they do as corpses collapse by the wayside? Mitra asks in a harrowing piece on the Bihar famine of 1974. His own practice is fitting answer. He grasps, from what he calls the "nation's scream-of-consciousness", those "ideological" moments when the state acts in violation of the democratic values of the Indian constitution. Under the Emergency, he was brought to the rural sector with the West Bengal Land Reform Act of 1955 which ensured security of tenure for the landless. But when Indra Lal, the share-cropper, tried to use the legislation for his protection, he was dispossessed by the purchase that the landlord, a government-backed "green revolutionary", has on the ground. Habeas corpus is ensured by the Constitution, but what Articles 19 and 20 give. Articles 352, 358, 359 take away. A dozen times the courts grant Kamal Bose bail but the police continue to detain him, for each time the petitioner is implicated in a new case after bail has been granted in the previous one. Prabir, arrested without trial

in this country fascism will not pass. A Minister in West Bengal... is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice; he will himself turn into a full-fledged fascist and suppress by well-known methods these other fascists who dare denigrate the authorities; fascism shall not pass.

But Mrs Gandhi did not win, and she is tempted to see how far she can go. She has to accommodate the new political situation, the new "prime" minister he has "accident" praise: "The rabidly anti-Communist Morarji Dasal—who, among other things, supported American action in Vietnam. Mr Dasal reflects a policy of cooperation and in Hiro's terms this must give an opening to the revolutionary left. He declares: "In either case—whether the country's economy improves or deteriorates in the coming decades—the Communist movement in India has a premonitory future ahead."

Clearly, this prospect is not welcome, for he gives an account of the Communist-dominated United Front government in West Bengal, which many observers would see as a step towards the "Front" not long ago. But apart from a somewhat primitive agrarian programme it had little or no effort to bring about the structural change so clearly needed in India, and especially in Calcutta. Dilip Hiro's words are that "indications are that a violent upheaval lies ahead". He does not say what will follow, but presumably he looks forward to People's Republic on the model of China or Vietnam.

Although the thesis presented in *Inside India Today* has an almost terrifying consistency one may still question whether India's recent past and its immediate future are really as depressing as portrayed by Dilip Hiro. One cannot deny that some things are intolerable, such as the squandering of the urban poor (but in Satya and Havana—not to mention the tragedy of Phnom Penh)—Communists have also discovered there is no easy solution to the urban crisis. Modern India possesses qualities which power speaks in the analysis. Along with all the tendencies and sectional self-interest and double-talk there is a genuine humanity, a tolerance, a sense of the dignity of the human spirit, which alone states with a much better perspective, regard, and envy. Morarji Dasal follows Gandhi's lead and has never been accused of self-interest. Jayaprakash Narayan is an original social philosopher whose life has been dedicated to service. It is not impossible that these men, will bring a new meaning to democracy in Asia.

or charged as an "alleged terrorist" dies in jail, a "threat to law and order".

Mitra's emotive style and persistent use of the individual case is rooted in the conviction that individual experience is best understood as historical experience. The elements of the nation's "stream of consciousness" that he analyses—India's faith in the Decree, Bose's belief in the Constitution—cannot be dismissed as mere "false consciousness". They must be understood and explored as the sustaining myths and hopes by which men relate to their real conditions of existence, and explained in their social and historical context.

Terry Byres provides this perspective in his introduction. He argues that the Indian state, in its role as the "uneasy representative of both the urban bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry" can only tolerate its inherent contradictions by swinging into an inflationary spiral. While food prices rise to serve the interests of the landowning farmer and wages are held back to cater for the urban bourgeoisie, the urban and rural poor decrease dramatically resulting in a demand recession during the period of the Emergency.

As the crisis deepens from 1972 to 1975 the myths of the "Democratic Republic" are exposed and the state can only reproduce the conditions for its survival by a widespread use of coercion, discriminatory issues and manipulation of the unemployed Lumpenproletariat. Mitra accurately predicted what were to become the main issues of the Emergency: indiscriminate arrests and seizure of the growth of the Youth Congress storm-troopers controlled by Sanjay Gandhi; and the compulsory sterilization and urban resettlement campaigns. And all this, as Mrs Gandhi so often said, was done in the name of socialism. As Mitra writes,

"In this country fascism will not pass. A Minister in West Bengal... is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice; he will himself turn into a full-fledged fascist and suppress by well-known methods these other fascists who dare denigrate the authorities; fascism shall not pass."

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Form and calculation

By Ian Stewart

D. T. WHITESIDE (Editor):
The Mathematical Papers of Isaac Newton
Volume VII 1691-1695
706pp. Cambridge University Press. £52.

With this seventh volume of Newton's mathematical works the long-running "Whiteside saga"—I mean no disrespect, merely wishing to indicate the extent to which the endeavour has become a household word among mathematicians—begins to draw to a close. Only one volume remains to complete this monumental edition, with its uniform and exceptionally high standard of excellence. As well as painstaking scholarship, D. T. Whiteside brings to bear a refreshingly matter-of-fact attitude to his subject's lesser works: "Is it sacrilegious to suggest that there is no point in reproducing every last one of the increasingly numerous and individually often minimally variant manuscript preliminary worksheets for, and posterior revisions of, an item which itself is of but minor importance?"

In 1696 Newton left Cambridge to take up the position of Warden of the Royal Mint, so this volume covers the last of his final five years at Cambridge. Three main topics are represented: fluxions and series; classical geometry; and Cartesian coordinate geometry. Much of this material has not, until now, been published; and its influence on mathematics is consequently nil. A clear exception is the classification of cubic plane curves which in both subject and treatment was so far ahead of its time that Newton's contemporaries appreciated little of it. Thus we cannot expect the subject-matter of this volume to compare in importance with Newton's most famous works, but none the less there is much of interest, including some "surprises".

In 1685 John Craig had visited Newton and was shown some of his mathematical papers—a rare privilege on calculus and infinite series, including a general theorem for the quadrature of certain curves by means of a series which shall in given circumstances, breaking off, determine the geo-

metrical quadrature of a projected figure. Craig communicated some instances of this to Gregory who recovered the general theorem for himself.

In 1688 Craig took steps to compare Newton's version, whose details he had forgotten, with Gregory's; but too late to prevent the series being published under Gregory's name. Newton, we may presume, was unaware of this event. In 1691 Gregory wrote to Newton in 1691 Gregory wrote to Newton and asked him to comment on the theorem in connection with Gregory's candidature for the Savilian Professorship. Newton drafted a reply, explaining that he had derived the series in 1676, and began to write out further results; but the draft breaks off, and it seems that Gregory received no answer. However, Newton was sufficiently provoked to produce a draft of the subject, first reworking his drafted letter and then expanding it. Short extracts of the proposed "De Quadratura Curvarum" appeared in Wallis's *Algebra*, but Newton never finished it.

The preliminary and revised letters and several reworked versions of isolated propositions. In the revised tract, which is the most complete version, Newton begins by stating his purpose: to prove his quadrature series, and uses it to refer to the quadrature of a given curve to that of a simpler one: ellipse, hyperbola, cubic parabola. A modern paraphrase of these results would include the natural correspondence and function may be integrated in terms of specified elementary functions: inverse trigonometric, logarithmic. But this point of view would be alien to Newton's more geometric way of thinking.

Next he turns to the famous problem that he had communicated to Leibniz in an anagram: "Given an equation involving any number of fluent quantities, to find the fluxion; and vice versa." The first problem is that of implicit differentiation, and is solved by the usual method. The second part is much harder, since it essentially requires the solution of differential equations. Newton lists several methods tantamount to those now standard in undergraduate courses, such as separation of variables. As is still too often the case (without Newton's excuse) no attention is paid to the question of the validity of the manipulation of the series. Special attention is directed at series solutions, and iterative methods for finding the coefficients of such series.

In the middle of this there appears, in an offhand way, what to all intents and purposes is the Taylor series (and its trivial variant (MacLaurin's version). Taylor's publication of this was, some twenty years in the future. This is one of the "surprises". However, it is more of a historical surprise than a mathematical one. Newton could scarcely have been so far ahead of his time, given his interest in series methods and the simplicity of the derivation of the theorem (by the same "vigorous and essentially fallacious method often presented today, omitting all questions of existence, let alone convergence").

It is not clear that Newton attached any great significance to the result; we can understand this better if we adopt his geometric viewpoint. It is quite clear that Newton's tract is demonstrating the way to deduce derivatives (fluxions) of a quantity from its series; for he attempts (fallaciously) to use the method for deriving higher derivatives from a differential equation. (It is somewhat curious that Newton should make the error that he did, but it seems hard to dispute the fact.) The importance of Taylor's series for deducing the coefficients of the series from the derivatives of the given quantity arises only in the presence of sufficiently many methods for computing derivatives; but to Newton the series was the prime technique for just this purpose. Without the "fluxion" viewpoint Taylor's theorem has little significance. Is it too much to add that perhaps undue importance has been attached to the theorem by historians? It is a fundamental result; very much more so, and far more especially deep, and far more practical calculation goes it is largely useless. Does it matter who deserves priority for a

theorem that cannot remain undisturbed for long, once a certain body of technique exists?

Not long after Newton's death, Henry Pemberton records Newton's admiration for the elegant synthetic style of the ancient Greeks: "Of their taste, and a form of demonstration Sir Isaac always professed himself a great admirer: I have even heard him censure himself for not following them yet more closely than he did." During the early 1680s Newton addressed himself to geometry in the classical style, drafting in rapid succession parts of a treatise which, among other things, attempted to restore some of the lost works of Greek geometry, including Euclid's *Porisms*. It is hard for the modern mathematician to realize how much effort was devoted to this kind of task, by many eminent scientists and mathematicians: Halley, for example, learned Arabic in order to translate the only extant text of the early 1680s Newton addressed himself to geometry in the classical style, drafting in rapid succession parts of a treatise which, among other things, attempted to restore some of the lost works of Greek geometry, including Euclid's *Porisms*. It is hard for the modern mathematician to realize how much effort was devoted to this kind of task, by many eminent scientists and mathematicians: Halley, for example, learned Arabic in order to translate the only extant text of the early 1680s Newton addressed himself to geometry in the classical style, drafting in rapid succession parts of a treatise which, among other things, attempted to restore some of the lost works of Greek geometry, including Euclid's *Porisms*. 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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS



Rijkuniversiteit Utrecht

Applications are invited for the post of Professor of Comparative Literature at the Institute for General and Comparative Literature of the University of Utrecht.

Applicants should

- be thoroughly familiar with the methods of describing literature as a historically defined supra-national phenomenon, and have published on the subject;
- be well acquainted with international literature and with the present situation in the field of comparative literature;
- be well versed in recent developments in the theory of literature;
- have teaching experience, preferably at University level;
- preferably know enough Dutch literature to be able to integrate it in comparative research and teaching;

Further information can be obtained from Professor Oversteegen, who can also be reached by telephone (050) 518141 (Utrecht) or 03445-1589 (Londonderry). The appointment committee will be glad to receive the names of potential candidates who, for any reason, not apply themselves. Those who applied for this post before are requested to write a new letter of application.

Applications, accompanied by a list of publications and a curriculum vitae, should be sent to:

B. H. Blackwell Ltd.

International Booksellers

require a

LIBRARY SERVICE ADVISER

The successful applicant will be a qualified librarian responsible to the Marketing Director for promoting the sale of books, periodicals and provide a technical service to libraries throughout the United Kingdom. This will entail regular visits to libraries establishing personal contacts. He/she will identify and develop potential sales, assist in the preparation of sales forecasts, report on changing library needs and participate in the development of new services.

A generous salary will be offered together with a company car, contributory pension scheme, and other benefits. Please apply to:

The Personnel Manager

B. H. Blackwell Ltd

Beaver House

Hythe Bridge Street

Oxford

Telephone: Oxford 44944, extension 43

DIRECTOR OF LIBRARIES

YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA
York University Libraries include eight (8) Library and 4 branch libraries which serve approximately 25,000 students, both undergraduate and graduate and 1,000 faculty.

Libraries' collection is approaching 2 million items. Staff of 216 including 41 librarians. Budget of over \$5,000,000 for 1977-78. Qualifications include graduate library degree or equivalent with at least 10 years' professional library experience. Substantial administrative experience and achievement essential. Salary competitive. Liberal fringe benefits. Initial appointment for 5 years. Application should include a curriculum vitae and the names of three referees. Position open January 1, 1978, or other date by agreement.

Applications must be submitted by September 1, 1977, to: Professor K. Danziger, Chairman, Search Committee, 8617 Ross Building, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3J 1P3.

COMMONWEALTH INSTITUTE
Library & Resource Centre

A vacancy exists for a

LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Applicants should have good educational qualifications and an intention to train as a Librarian. The Library includes books and audio-visual materials on contemporary Commonwealth countries and is open to the general public.

Attractive modern premises and setting with restaurant on premises. No evening work.

Salary within the scale £2,560.00 to £2,852.64 (including London Weighting and Pay Supplements).

Apply for further information and Application Form to the Establishment Officer, Commonwealth Institute, Kensington High Street, London W8 8NQ 01-602 3252. Closing date for applications 17 days after publication of this advertisement.

LIBRARY SERVICE

ADVISER

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Salary £2,266 to £2,847 per annum inclusive

A Chartered Librarian with extensive administrative experience is required for this post, which has become vacant on the appointment of the present holder to another authority. The position, which ranks third in the library establishment, is responsible for the co-ordination of circulation services, staffing administration, and the development of computerised routines.

Generous relocation expenses available.

Further details and application forms from the Administration Manager, Room 705, Brent House, High Road, Wembley, Middlesex, Wembley 9, London. Telephone 01-803 6371 (24-hour Answering Service). Reference number 44/72 must be quoted.

London Borough of
BRENT

Trainees

Trainee Grade £2,055-£3,126 including London Weighting and salary supplement. Starting salary dependent on age and qualifications.

Applications are invited from howly qualified librarians. These posts are to provide wide experience in the Public Library Service before appointment to established posts.

Application form and further details from: Chief Librarian, Libraries and Museums Department, Central Administration Office, Hall Place, Bourne Road, Bexley, Kent, for completion and return by 8th July 1977.

Bexley London Borough

Second Senior Assistant

£3,357-£3,717 plus £312 p.a. supplement

A qualified librarian is required at Balham Library. The Borough Technical Library is based at Balham and a special responsibility of this post is the maintenance of the technical stock (over 7,000 volumes for loan and 1,000 reference books).

Application form and job description from Personnel Section, Recreation Department, Battersea Town Hall, SW11. Tel: 01-228 8999 ext. 243. Closes 8th July, 1977.

LONDON BOROUGH OF

WandsworthLOUGHBOROUGH
UNIVERSITY OF
TECHNOLOGYLIBRARY AND
INFORMATION
STUDIES

Applications are invited for the post of RESEARCH FELLOW in the Library Management Research Unit in the Department of Library and Information Studies. The position involves the application of management principles to library practice. The post will be for 12 months from 1st September, 1977, or as soon as possible thereafter.

Salary within scale £3,533-£5,627. Postholder requests for further details to: The Employment Manager, Library Management Research Unit, Establishment Officer, 77/78/18 Loughborough

REMINDER

COPY FOR CLASSIFIED
ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE

T.L.S. SHOULD ARRIVE
NOT LATER THAN

10.30 a.m.

MONDAY PRECEDING THE
DATE OF PUBLICATION

West Glamorgan County Council
Education Department

BRANCH LIBRARIAN
Pontardawe Library
SVP/037/104

Applicants must be qualified chartered librarians. The person appointed will be responsible for the administration of a busy branch library.

Salary £3,234-£4,014 per annum.

Application forms returnable by 8th July, 1977, are available from The County Clerk, Central Personnel Unit, West Glamorgan County Council, The Guildhall, Swansea. Telephone Swansea 50821 extension 2923.

Please quote reference number.

Branch Librarian

AP 5 £4,110-£4,380 including London Weighting plus £312 Salary Supplement.

Enthusiastic Chartered Librarian required to take charge of a modern Branch Library on a housing estate offering opportunities to expand the cultural life of the community through the library service activities.

Application forms and further details obtainable from Borough Librarian, Central Library, St. Nicholas Way, Sutton, Surrey. Tel. 01-843 4481.

Closing date 8 July, 1977.

Education Department, Libraries Division.

LONDON BOROUGH OF
SUTTON

Librarian

AP3 £2,922-£3,263 + £312
Supplements + £120 Fringe
Allowance

Palmer's College
Chadwell Road,
Grays, Essex.

This is a new full-time post and the person appointed will be responsible for amalgamating the stock of the three schools combining to form the College and developing the new library resource centre to support staff and students.

Applicants should be Chartered Librarians and will work in liaison with the School's Library and Resources Service of the County Library. Applications, giving the names of two referees, should be sent to the Headmaster, Palmer's College, Grays, Essex, as soon as possible.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY
HISTORY FACULTY
LIBRARYASSISTANT
LIBRARIAN

Qualified and experienced Librarian required as Assistant and Deputy to the Librarian. Irregular hours, including some evenings. 37-hour week. 7-8 weeks' holiday. Salary on scale ranging to £3,168. Starting point according to age, qualifications and experience. Appointment to begin on 6th September.

Apply in writing to The Librarian, History Faculty Library, 12a St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3BQ, with curriculum vitae and the names of two referees, before 2nd July, 1977.

T.L.S.
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The Times Literary Supplement
Times Newspapers Limited
PO Box No 7
New Printing House Square
Gray's Inn Road
London WC1X 8EZ

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

As a result of internal promotion The Times Literary Supplement requires a

SALES EXECUTIVE

The successful applicant, who will be under 35 years of age, will be required to work closely with the Advertisement Manager selling advertising space in both the T.L.S. and The Times to publishers in the United Kingdom and abroad. Upon completion of a satisfactory probationary period promotion to Assistant Advertisement Manager will be considered.

An interest in all aspects of publishing is desirable and a foreign language, preferably German or Italian, is required. Salary negotiable. Your weeks' three days' holiday rising to five weeks after one year and other fringe benefits.

If you have the above qualifications and feel you would be happy as part of a small but hard-working specialist team please write with details to: The Employment Manager, Times Newspapers Ltd., P.O. Box No. 7, New Printing House Square, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS



Editors/Editorial Assistants/Readers

Mitchell Bentley Encyclopaedias require immediately

1. Experienced editors familiar with short-entry encyclopaedia in copy. Successful applicants will be offered a fulltime freelance contract from the date of their appointment to about the end of the year.

2. Editorial assistants capable of checking short encyclopaedia articles. These posts are suitable for junior editors with some experience of fact-checking or post-graduate students looking for an introduction to publishing. Successful applicants will be offered a fulltime freelance contract from the date of their appointment to October/November.

3. Proof-readers, who will be offered contracts to about the end of the year. Out-of-house readers may apply.

Telephone Frank Wallis, Editorial Director, 01-434 1694, or write to him at: Manette Street, London W1V 5LB.

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BRIGHTON
POLYTECHNIC

LEARNING RESOURCES
ASSISTANT COURSE
RESOURCES OFFICER

£2,612-£4,400 p.a.

An Experienced Chartered Librarian is required to administer the circulation system, monitor the inter-library loan service and participate in other professional services in the new Resource Centre.

Details and application forms from Personnel Officer, Brighton Polytechnic, Moulsecomb, Brighton, BN2 4QJ. Closing date, 6th July, 1977.

Closing date: July 1.

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Cheshire County Council

Chartered Librarians
AP4/5 £3,366 to £4,095
plus £312 p.a. supplement.

Qualified, experienced Chartered Librarians required for Shrewsbury, Macclesfield and Birkenhead Comprehensive Schools to commence September, 1977.

Application forms are obtainable from the District Education Officer, Cheshire County Council, Delamere St., Crewe CW1 2JZ.

Closing date: July 1.

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LIBRARIANS

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for a post of Assistant Librarian to work either in one of the library's main divisions or in a specialist service. Successful candidates will be offered a fulltime freelance contract from the date of their appointment to about the end of the year.

Details and application forms from Personnel Officer, Glasgow University Library, Glasgow G3 7LA. Closing date, 6th July, 1977.

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LONDON AND SOUTH
EASTERN LIBRARY REGION

RESEARCH ASSISTANT
AP4/5 £3,366 to £4,095
plus £312 p.a. supplement.

Applications are invited for a post of Research Assistant to work either in one of the library's main divisions or in a specialist service. Successful candidates will be offered a fulltime freelance contract from the date of their appointment to about the end of the year.

Details and application forms from Personnel Officer, London and South Eastern Library Region, London EC3A 3DF. Closing date, 6th July, 1977.

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